

REF: INI FORM (100-21002-010) (21-10)

12/21/55

21

CP, UN  
Local Contact  
21 - 6

Source

Reliability

Date of activity

Date received

Received by

Location

(Source by T. G. G. G.)

has furnished reliable  
information in the past

11/24/55

11/24/55

SA

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The information contained in this report  
should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless  
it is paraphrased.

By report dated 11/24/55, [redacted] provided  
information concerning the [redacted] County Board of the CP.

- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-103870 (JAMES HILSON) (21-10)
- 1 - NY 100-103870 0320 (CP HILSON) (21-10)
- 1 - NY 100-103870 (CP HILSON) (10)
- 1 - NY 100-103870 (CP HILSON) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-103870 (CP HILSON) (10)
- 1 - NY 100-21 (JAMES HILSON) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-21002 (CP UN DISTRICT 2) (12-8)

100-21002  
(9)

100-80032-1152

[Signature]

C O P Y

Report

Communist Party U.S.A.  
Activities

Nov. 24, 1936  
New York

[redacted] C.P. organizer of the Bronx North (1st) District, told me that at his last meeting of the Bronx County Board of the Communist Party of which there was a discussion on Thursday was the only member who approved of the action of the Soviet Union in Hungary and that all of the other members of the board were against the Soviet Union's moving in "in the name of the restoration of the nation's democracy, dominating them politically and economically."

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She told me that they also discussed the question of the Daily Worker. "The majority of the board members were of the opinion that it would be a good idea to discontinue the Daily Worker as a daily newspaper to make it a weekly newspaper to be published on week-ends. The majority opinion was that the party membership at present can not support a daily newspaper and give money for defense party work, etc. The party lost thousands of members during the last few years. Many party members belong to different progressive organizations which they are supporting. Other party members are also supporting their language press, like the Evening Freiheit. It all comes out from the same pocket. For the present a week-end Worker will carry the program and needs of the party."

[redacted] told me <sup>she</sup> from Bronx County Board C.P. decided to make an "unofficial" recommendation to the State Committee (U.S.C.P.) to take of the Daily Worker a week-end publication.

[redacted] gave me the following details on the U.P. conventions:

The N.Y. State Convention C.P. will be held on January 25th, 26th, 27th, 1937. The delegates are to be elected on the basis of <sup>one</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>district</sup> ~~district~~. A good standing member will be considered from <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>district</sup> ~~district~~ and paid up through October, 1936.

Each party district of 50 members or less will send 2 delegates; 3 delegates for the next 100 members and for each additional 100 members up to 600. 2 delegates for each additional 100 members above 600.

C O P Y

222-80638-152

C O P Y

The Election conventions will elect delegates to the county, State and National conventions.

The election of delegates to the national convention: 1 delegate for each club of 5 members and two delegates for each club of more than 5 members.

In County conventions: 1 delegate for each 10 members.

In State Conventions: 1 delegate for each 20 members.

The N.Y. State C.P. will have a minimum of 140 delegates at the National convention of the C.P. - based on 1936 payment of dues - through October, 1936. The National Convention of the U.S. will last 10 days. Attendance to the National convention \$2.00 per member and \$5.00 for unemployed and irregular.

The Essex County convention of the C.P. will be held on January 11th and 12th, 1937.

The North-Ham session of the Essex CP will be held on Dec. 15th, 1936, at the Burlington Hotel, Rutherford Blvd. from 10 A.M. to 11:30 P.M.

J. London

CHAMBERLAIN

1913. 15 Dec 1936

C O P Y

SAC  
 DIV. 1  
 DIV. 2  
 DIV. 3  
 DIV. 4  
 SEC. 1  
 SEC. 2  
 SEC. 3  
 SEC. 4  
 SEC. 5  
 SEC. 6  
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 SEC. 13  
 SEC. 14  
 SEC. 15  
 SEC. 16  
 SEC. 17  
 SEC. 18  
 SEC. 19  
 SEC. 20

NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
 JANUARY 4, 1957

ATTN: TEL  
 DIVISION

BUREAU

CP USA  
 MEMBERSHIP  
 IS - C

Rebulet 12/3/56.

Communist Party membership in District #2, all of New York State, is estimated at 8,744. The number of CP members in District #2 covered by the New York Division is estimated at 8,394.

NY 1704-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available on 12/10/56 a handwritten work sheet dated 11/19/56 maintained at New York State CP Headquarters, 101 West 16th Street, NYC, which set forth the following regarding New York State CP membership registrations:

		<u>Sections</u>
Manhattan	1629	11
Brooklyn	1774	13
Bronx	1059	7
Queens (including Nassau)	1240	21
Industrial	2450	50
Westchester	242	6
Upstate	350	12
TOTAL	8744	125

- 3 - BUREAU (100-3-69) RM
- 1 - ALBANY (100-9555)
- 1 - BUFFALO (100-4379-60)
- 1 - NEW YORK (CP USA MEMBERSHIP) 100-80633
- 1 - NEW YORK (100-123817)

AGB:KMD, #12-3  
 (7)

100-80633-1153

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 14 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]*



PAGE TWO

The breakdown for upstate was listed as follows:

		<u>Sections</u>
Capital District and Utica	105	4 or 5
Buffalo	120	4
Rochester	25	1
Syracuse	35 or 40	1
South Tier	<u>30</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	315 or 320	12 or 13

It is to be noted that the total as shown in the breakdown for upstate is 320 whereas the total for upstate listed on the worksheet dated 11/19/56 is 350. No explanation for this discrepancy was noted in the material furnished by informant.

The Albany Office by air-tel dated 1/2/57 advised that the estimate of membership of the CP in the area covered by that office in District #2 is 160 members. The breakdown of this membership was given as follows:

Northeastern Sub-district - 92 composed of Albany--Troy 27,  
Schenectady 26, Utica 17,  
Section II 22

Western Sub-district - 68 composed of Syracuse 38 and Triple Cities  
and Ithaca 30

It is to be noted that the figures furnished by NY 1784-S\* show a total of 175 members for the Albany area as follows:

Capital District and Utica	105
Syracuse	35 or 40
South Tier	<u>30</u>
	170 or 175

NY 100-128817

PAGE THREE

This figure shows a difference of 10 or 15 members more than that estimated by the Albany Office.

The Buffalo Office by air-tel 1/2/57 advised that the estimate of membership of the CP in the area covered by that office in District #2 is 180 members. The breakdown of this membership was given as follows:

Buffalo	100
Division II	45
Monroe Co.	25
Jamestown	4
Elmira - Corning - Van Etten	6
TOTAL	180

It is to be noted that the figures furnished by NY 1784-S\* show a total of 145 members for the Buffalo area as follows:

Buffalo	120
Rochester	25
TOTAL	145

This figure shows a difference of 35 members less than that estimated by the Buffalo Office.

Therefore, the estimated CP membership in NY State based on information furnished by NY 1734-S\* is 8744 whereas using the figures for the area covered by the NYC Division furnished by NY 1734-S\* and the figures furnished by Albany and Buffalo the estimated membership would be 8734. This is 10 less than the total membership in NY State as supplied by NY 1784-S\*.

In view of the fact that the figures obtained through NY 1784-S\* are figures that the State CP apparently used for allotting delegates to the National Convention, it is felt by the NYO that these figures are more correct and thus the estimate of 8744.

KELLY

SAC  
 DIV. 1  
 DIV. 2  
 DIV. 3  
 DIV. 4  
 SEC. 1  
 SEC. 2  
 SEC. 3  
 SEC. 4  
 SEC. 5  
 SEC. 6  
 SEC. 7  
 SEC. 8  
 SEC. 9  
 SEC. 10

AIRTEL  
 XXXXX

BUREAU

FBI, MINNEAPOLIS (100-1878-V)

1/4/57

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

AIR MAIL

CP USA - MEMBERSHIP  
 IS - C - CINAL

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised 1/4/57 that he recently learned from [redacted] and MARTIN MACKEL, members Minn. CP District Secretariat of their great concern over declining CP membership in the Minn. District.

Expansion of CP membership in Minn. District a must and will be one of the principal topics brought before C. Natl. Convention by Minn. delegation.

HOWARD

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (Info.) (RM)
- 3 - Minneapolis (100-1878-V)  
 (100-11136)

AGE:VON  
 (7)

100-80638-1134

Waters  
 Waters

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 b7C  
 b7D

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

1/10/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

COMMUNIST PARTY USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Rebulet 6/27/56, wherein NYO is requested to furnish the Bureau on a bi-monthly basis the number of CP members identified beginning 9/1/56. Re New York letter 11/2/56, setting out the statistics for the period 9/1/56 to 11/1/56.

Set out hereinafter is a breakdown showing the gain or loss in each County or Section of the Security Index. It will be noted that Manhattan is broken down to conform to the three Manhattan Squads on the Security Matter - C Section (Section #12) of the NYO:

<u>GEOGRAPHICAL</u>	<u>CP MEMBERS</u>	<u>NUMBER IDENTIFIED SINCE 11/1/56</u>
Bronx	379	7
Brooklyn	515	16
Queens	444	23
Lower Manhattan	232	1
Mid-Manhattan	231	7
Upper Manhattan	406	-8
Westchester	66	-5
Nassau	70	0
Putnam	0	0

2 - BUREAU (100-3-68) RM  
1 - NEW YORK (100-80638)

1 - ASAC N. H. MC CABE  
1 - #12-0

1 - #12-8  
1 - #20-0

TSM:EMD  
(3)

4 Photostats (for inspection)  
2-4-57

100-80638-1155

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
 NY 100-80638

<u>GEOGRAPHICAL</u>	<u>CP MEMBERS</u>	<u>NUMBER IDENTIFIED SINCE 11/1/56</u>
Sullivan	4	-1
Richmond	6	0
Columbia	0	0
Dutchess	0	0
Greene	3	0
Orange	7	0
Rockland	4	1
Suffolk	6	1
Ulster	18	3
UNAVAILABLE SECTION	58	-11
SPECIAL	26	0
VERIFICATION PENDING	<u>34</u>	<u>-5</u>
TOTALS	2509	29 (net gain)

For the information of the Bureau, during the two-month period 11/1/56 to 1/1/57, 68 Communists were identified and added to the Security Index, and 39 were deleted from the Security Index, which makes the net gain of 29 on the Security Index.

As set out in reNYlet, the Annual Investigative Report Program, which was completed on 12/31/56, occupied much of the manpower available to Sections #12 and #20, who are responsible for the identification of CP members. Now that that Program is over, it is felt that more progress can be made in the two-month period 1/1/57 to 3/1/57. The Bureau will be furnished with these statistics in conformance with its instruction.



SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

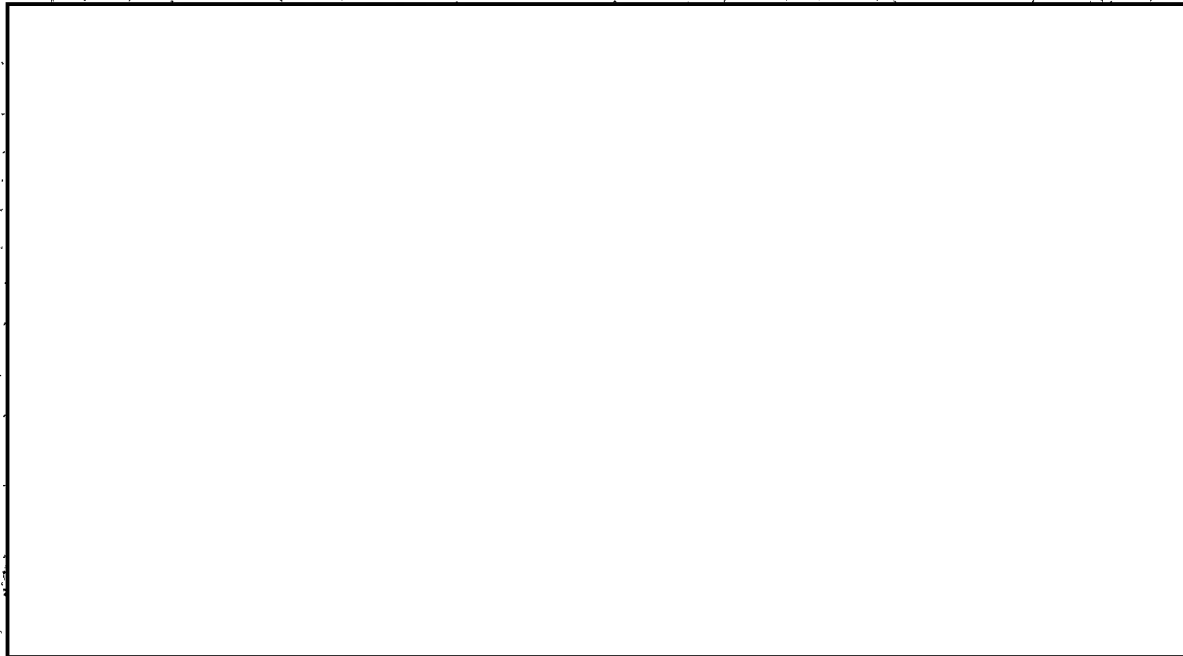
1/15/57

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PHILIP BART, was  
IS-C; ISA - 50

Referral/Consult



- 1 - New York (100-74560)(CP, USA FUNDS)
- 1 - New York (100-80638)(CP, USA MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - New York (100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)
- 1 - New York (100-26776)(CHARLES DIRBA)
- 1 - New York (100-9365)(BETTY GANNETT)

RAD:rlfot  
(6)

*noted 1/22/57  
ARJ*

100-80638-1156

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 15 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

SAC, NEW YORK (100- )

January 11, 1957

SAC, CHICAGO (100-25919)

JOHN STEUBEN  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On January 8, 1957, CG 5824-S\* orally advised SA CARL N. FREYMAN that he had recently learned from CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT that JOHN STEUBEN has quit the Communist Party. According to the information furnished by LIGHTFOOT, a party was held in honor of STEUBEN several weeks ago. In attendance were such individuals as [redacted] and [redacted]. During the course of the evening, STEUBEN made the statement that he does not believe the Communist Party can continue to exist and that it should dissolve. He indicated that his conclusions were the result of the use of tanks by the Soviet Union in Hungary. He said that from now on he will be a "passive on-looker".

LIGHTFOOT made the comment that the Party conclusion regarding STEUBEN's action is that he is taking this position because he hopes to make a deal with the government during his trial.

- 3 - New York (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership)  
2 - Chicago  
    (1 - A/134-46)

CNF:kw  
(5)

100-80638-1157  
J. Waters  
J. Waters  
J. Waters  
J. Waters

DATE 08-15-2011

REPLACES FORM  
FD-202 (5-12-55)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <u>NEW YORK</u>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <u>NEW YORK</u>	DATE <u>JAN 18 1957</u>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <u>10/1/56-1/17/57</u>
TITLE OF CASE  <u>COMMUNIST PARTY, USA</u>		REPORT MADE BY <u>JOSEPH V. WATERS</u>	TYPED BY <u>amd</u>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <u>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</u>	

## SYNOPSIS:

QUARTERLY PERIOD

October 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956

*Post P  
per 1/19*

National office of CPUSA located 7th Floor, 575 Avenue of Americas, NYC, in building of JSSS, but building reported to be up for sale and announcement made of closing of school. 16th National Convention of CP called for 2/9-12/57, at NYC. Draft constitution to be presented to convention, its preamble advocating peaceful, democratic road to Socialism within constitutional process. Changes from old constitution said by "The Worker" to be directed toward expanding party democracy. Practically everyone connected with national office reported wanting to find outside job. EUGENE DENNIS, General Secretary, in article prepared for January, 1957 "Political Affairs" said CP in grave crisis, with most controversial issue that of party vs. association. DENNIS opposing latter claiming

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:		<u>80638-1158</u>	<u>Waters</u> <u>1/19</u>
7-Bureau (100-3) (RM)			
1-G-2, 1st Army (RM)			
1-ONI, 3rd ND, NYC (RM)			
1-OSI, 2nd DSI District, USAF (RM)			
1-All Offices (RM)			
4-New York (106-4931)			

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D)

Marxist-Leninist political party essential. National Committee Meeting of 12/17-19/56, decided that EUGENE DENNIS to give keynote address at convention in place of report which could not deal with CP problems. Informant reports that at meeting of Committee on Leadership on 12/18/56, worry was expressed about DENNIS in that he does not act as leader. However, most CP leaders, according to informant, believe it may be necessary to continue with him. No registration of CP members had in 1956, with possible registration in October, 1957, to be considered as covering 1956 and 1957. Income of CPUSA for the period 1/1/56-9/30/56, reported to be \$91,398.12, and expenditures \$96,998.55. Expense of National Convention estimated \$30,000 to \$40,000. CP has designated representative to inquire in several states re procedure to change birth records of children born to parents using fictitious identity in underground period of CP. DENNIS has stated on 11/11/56, that problem is to prevent complete split in CP, that he is opposed to line of JOHN GATES, Editor-In-Chief of "Daily Worker", that CP should be dissolved, while he opposes any change in basic Marxist-Leninist concept of party, whether name is changed or not. In open letter to membership in "Daily Worker", 11/20/56, National Committee admitted differences of opinion on Hungary, but agreed that situation resulted from distortion of Socialist policy, failure to carry into effect decisions of 20th Congress of CPSU, failure of Hungarian CP

NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D)

to see need for any change, and that call for Soviet help in revolt was tragic error for which USSR was also responsible. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, National Chairman, in "Daily Worker" of 11/21/56, wrote that while upheaval was initially popular, reaction seized opportunity to establish Fascism there, and thus USSR action was one of supreme political necessity. Resident National Committee in "Daily Worker" article on 11/5/56, stated that Communists in Poland had corrected wrongs there, and thus won confidence of Polish people. Preamble to CP draft constitution states that CP holds that US & cause of peace and progress require strengthening of UN as universal instrument of peace. "Daily Worker" of 12/7/56, editorially urged that embassy of Union of South Africa hear from American people about its "Barbarous Jimcrow persecution." ALBERT E. BLUMBERG, National Legislative Director, urged in report to National Committee on 11/13/56, that President's message to Congress be influenced, through struggle, to promote peace by negotiations, troop withdrawals, banning H-Bomb tests, extension of civil rights, demand for lower taxes, and increase in minimum wage. He admitted role of Left in last campaign was smallest in many years. FRED FINE, National Executive Secretary, by letter dated 12/12/56, to National Committee Members, submitted draft amendment for vote by National Convention on new session of Congress, in which it is asserted Communists and other Socialist-minded and Left forces have contribution to make in the struggle for



NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D)

labor and people's program in 85th Congress, and Left initiative is needed, united where possible, parallel where not, in terms of a Socialist perspective. Issues stressed in "Daily Worker" have been attacks on HCUA, ban on H-bomb to eliminate danger from fallout, repeal of Smith Act, and amnesty for Smith Act "victims." "Trade Union Resolution - First Draft", dated 10/16/56, reflects CP long range objectives to be development of trade union unity, organization of unorganized, shorter work week, extension of alliances between labor and its allies, greater independent political activity, and work towards peace and peacetime economy. Point of view of CP said to be "class struggle" and support of working class as opposed to "class collaboration." Enlarged meeting of National Committee, 12/17-19/56, decided that one perspective to be discussed at convention would be Negro and white unity and fight for equality, but main theoretical questions of Negro problem would not be resolved there but perhaps later at a special conference. FOSTER reported to have said that on 10/4/56, that youth organization was apparently in tentative stage of formation by CP, and might be called Youth League for Socialism, organization of which he did not approve. [redacted] Acting National Chairman of Labor Youth League (LYL), on 11/1/56, stated LYL is falling apart, but no action on new form for LYL can be taken until after CP Convention. Informant reports PHIL BART, Member, National Organization Commission, as stating re farm matters that

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NY 100-4931

SYNOPSIS (CONT'D)

CP is not "functioning, going thing." 26 "progressive" Jewish leaders reported on 10/19/56, to have requested BULGANIN and VOROSHILOV, Premier and President of USSR, to make statement on Jewish culture in USSR and what is being done to rebuild it there. PHIL BART reported on 11/29/56, to have prepared preliminary report on national group work, and to have recommended to National Committee that such field be covered in Draft Resolution or separate resolution and presented to convention, that some leaders in field be invited as fraternal delegates to convention, that Committee on Civil Liberties take up Walter-McCarran Act repeal and invite national groups of its deliberation. HOWARD SEISAM, Director and Instructor at JSSS, told class on 10/29/56, that idea of God has been used to control masses, and religion in time, will and must end, that progress will be their only religion. CP has published four issues of bi-weekly "16th National Convention Discussion Bulletin" as means for members to express views on Draft Resolution. Suspension of publication "March of Labor" announced. Informant reports that GIL GREEN now believes distribution by CP of his book "The Enemy Forgotten" should be stopped since it is too pro-Russian, and now outdated. The resignation of MAX WEISS, National Education Director, not accepted because of likelihood of adverse publicity and effect on morale that would ensue, WEISS agreeing to continue until after convention.

NY 100-4931

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NY 100-4931

All informants mentioned in this report have furnished reliable information in the past, or were in a position to furnish reliable information.

This is a joint report of pertinent activities of the Communist Party, USA; during the quarterly period October 1, 1956, to December 31, 1956, prepared by the following Special Agents:

GUSTAV S. ABRANDT  
HOBSON H. ADCOCK

[REDACTED]  
ROBERT J. KIRKLAND, JR.

[REDACTED]  
JOSEPH P. MC CORMICK

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
ALPHONSE J. SUTKUS  
JOSEPH V. WATERS

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NY 100-4931

MEMBERSHIP

(Bufile 100-3-68)  
(NY file 100-80638)

This section was prepared by SA JOSEPH  
V. WATERS.

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T-11 has advised on October 20, 1956, that PHIL BART had disclosed that the CP had decided that there was to be no registration of its members in 1956. BART said also that perhaps in October, 1957, a registration to be considered as covering 1956 and 1957 will be conducted.

T-35 has advised on November 1, 1956, that [ ] had stated on October 29, 1956, that the CP leadership in New York was looking up all those who had left the Party, for whatever reason, or who had been expelled or quit for policy reasons or personal difficulties, in order to ask them to return. [ ] added that return was often hard to accomplish, as those who had left have acquired families, jobs, and a new way of life.



NY 100-4931

## II. IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS

The individuals mentioned this report may be identified as follows:

### JAMES S. ALLEN

"The Worker" of December 11, 1955, page 5, column 2, identified JAMES S. ALLEN as an editor of International Publishers.

### PHIL BART

T-16 advised on March 11, 1956, that PHIL BART was a member of the National Organization Commission of the CP.

### ABNER BERRY

T-2 advised on June 24, 1955, that ABNER W. BERRY was Negro Affairs Editor for the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker."

### ALBERT E. BLUMBERG

BLUMBERG was convicted on March 7, 1955, in United States District Court, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for violation of the Smith Act of 1940, in that he was a member of the Communist Party, knowing that it taught and advocated the overthrow and destruction of the United States by force and violence.

### ARCHIE BROWN

T-16 has advised on April 28, 1956, that ARCHIE BROWN was then a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party by cooptation.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that BROWN had been elected an alternate member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

JVW:RCM

- 2 -

NY 100-4931

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

T-1 advised on March 24, 1956, that on March 23, 1956, GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY was introduced at a meeting as State Chairman of the New York CP.

MORRIS CHILDS

T-16 advised on February 28, 1956, that MORRIS CHILDS is a member of the Illinois-Indiana CP District Board.

JOSEPH CLARK

The "Daily Worker," edition of February 23, 1955, page 1, column 4, announced that JOSEPH CLARK, who was the publications correspondent in the Soviet Union, would move to the post of "Daily Worker" Foreign Editor.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., was convicted on October 14, 1949, in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

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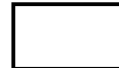
The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that DAVIS was elected a member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

EUGENE DENNIS

The "Daily Worker" of February 29, 1956, described EUGENE DENNIS as General Secretary of the CP.



On November 5, 1956, T-16 advised that [redacted] is Acting National Chairman of the LYL.



JVW:RCM

- 3 -

NY 100-4931

[redacted]  
[redacted] on October 15, 1956, described [redacted]  
[redacted] as switchboard operator at the National Office  
of the CP.

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FRED FINE

T-5 advised on March 20, 1956, that FINE was  
National Executive Secretary of the CP.

FINE was indicted on June 20, 1951, by a  
Federal Grand Jury, Southern District of New York, for  
conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940. FINE evaded  
arrest until November 30, 1955, on which date he surrendered  
to the United States Attorney at New York. He was convicted  
on July 31, 1956.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1,  
column 1, reported that FINE had been elected an alternate member  
of the CP National Committee at its 15th National  
Convention.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The "Daily Worker" of December 5, 1955, identi-  
fied WILLIAM Z. FOSTER as National Chairman of the CP.

BETTY GANNETT

BETTY GANNETT was convicted for violation of  
the Smith Act of 1940, on January 21, 1953, in the  
United States District Court, Southern District of New York.

JOHN GATES

JOHN GATES was convicted on October 14, 1949,  
in the United States District Court, Southern District of  
New York, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

JVW:RCM

- 4 -

NY 100-4931

GATES was identified as Editor-in-Chief of the "Daily Worker" in the March 23, 1956, issue.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that GATES was elected a member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

LILLIAN GATES

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T-41 on May 18, 1956, made available a copy of "The Bulletin," dated May 2, 1956, self described as being published by the Legislative Bureau New York State Committee CP, 101 West 16th Street, New York, New York. "The Bulletin" lists LILLIAN GATES as Secretary.

SIMON W. GERSON

"The Worker" of March 4, 1956, described GERSON as Legislative Chairman of the New York State CP.

[redacted]  
On September 30, 1955, T-2 advised that [redacted]  
[redacted] was currently Acting Business Manager of the "Daily Worker."

GIL GREEN

On October 21, 1949, GREEN a member of the National Board of the CP, USA, was sentenced to five years imprisonment following his conviction for violation of the Smith Act of 1940 on October 14, 1949. He was released on bail on November 3, 1949, and became a fugitive upon the issuance of a bench warrant in the Southern District of New York on July 2, 1951. On February 27, 1956, he surrendered to the United States Attorney, Southern District of New York, and after a trial was sentenced to three years imprisonment for contempt of court.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that GREEN had been elected a member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

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DOROTHY HEALEY

T-37 on July 6, 1956, described DOROTHY HEALEY as a member of the California State Board of the CP.

JAMES EDWARD JACKSON, JR.

An indictment was returned by a Federal Grand Jury, United States District Court, Southern District of New York, on June 20, 1951, charging JACKSON with conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940. JACKSON evaded arrest until December 2, 1955, when he surrendered to the United States Attorney, Southern District of New York, New York City. He was convicted in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York on July 31, 1956.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that JACKSON had been elected an alternate member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

[redacted]  
T-5 advised on January 10, 1956, that [redacted] was a member of the Steering Committee of the National Negro Commission of the CP.

[redacted]  
T-11 advised on September 5, 1956, that [redacted] is the Executive Secretary of the Illinois-Indiana District of the CP.

[redacted]  
T-24 advised on December 12, 1955, that [redacted] was at that time Organizational Secretary, Communist Party, Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

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LOUISE TODD LAMBERT

T-38 on September 30, 1956, described LOUISE TODD LAMBERT as Executive Secretary of the California CP and a member of the State Board.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

T-5 advised on December 8, 1955, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was then District Organizer of the Illinois-Indiana CP.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that LIGHTFOOT was elected an alternate member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] On October 28, 1955, T-16 advised that [REDACTED] was at that time National Youth Director of the CP.

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HYMAN LUMER

T-39 on April 30, 1956, advised that at a state conference of the CP in Ohio, held on April 22, 1956, in Cleveland, HYMAN LUMER identified himself as Ohio State Educational Director of the CP.

[REDACTED]

T-16 has advised on February 9, 1956, that he had learned from a CP functionary that the national leadership of the CP had decided to remove [REDACTED] from his assignment as chairman of the National Peace Commission of the CP and return him to the staff of the "Daily Worker."

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[redacted]

[redacted] T-22 advised on November 2, 1955, that [redacted] was probably a member of the State CP Committee of New Jersey, and that he was probably a member of the State Board of the CP of New Jersey.

[redacted]

[redacted] who usually uses the name [redacted] was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on June 20, 1951, charging him with violation of the Smith Act. [redacted] went on trial in United States District Court, Southern District of New York, on April 9, 1956, and was found guilty on July 31, 1956. On September 17, 1956, he was sentenced to serve five years in the custody of the Attorney General. He is at present at liberty on bail pending appeal.

[redacted]

On September 30, 1955, T-2 advised that [redacted] is employed as managing editor of the "Daily Worker."

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STEVE NELSON

STEVE NELSON was convicted in United States District Court, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for violation of the Smith Act on August 20, 1953.

PAUL NOVICK

T-14 on April 13, 1949, described PAUL NOVICK as a CP member.

[redacted]

On August 8, 1956, [redacted], head of the American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, departed for Poland. [redacted] was successful in obtaining a visa to enter Poland rather than be deported

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by reason of CP membership, to his country of birth, Greece, where, he claimed, he would be persecuted.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

T-14 on September 14, 1955, stated that WILLIAM L. PATTERSON was known to the informant as a Communist.

[redacted]

See

[redacted]

[redacted]

T-24 has advised on August 30, 1956, that [redacted] is the organizer for the CP of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.

[redacted]

T-29, on October 16, 1956, described [redacted] as a clerical employee at the national office of the CP.

[redacted]

T-22 advised on February 15, 1956, that he had learned from a CP functionary that [redacted] is the overall political figure for the CP in Minnesota and also reaching into Wisconsin and the Dakotas.

MICHAEL RUSSO

T-44 stated on January 17, 1955, that MICHAEL RUSSO was a member of District Committee CP, USA District #1.

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN was convicted of violation of the Smith Act of 1940, in United States District Court at Los Angeles, California, on August 5, 1952.

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HOWARD SELSAM

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On June 20, 1956, T-45 furnished a letterhead dated June 11, 1956, of the Jefferson School of Social Science, describing HOWARD SELSAM as a Director of that school.

[redacted]

T-42 on October 13, 1956, indicated that [redacted]  
[redacted] is associated with EUGENE DENNIS as his chauffeur.

[redacted]

T-16 has advised on March 11, 1956, that [redacted] was the National Trade Union Director and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Board of the CP.

[redacted]

T-40 on September 11, 1956, has advised that [redacted] also known as [redacted] had been observed by him performing clerical duties at the national office of the CP.

NED SPARKS

On October 30, 1956, T-23 furnished information indicating that NED SPARKS was a member of the Economic Committee of the CP, USA.

JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL was convicted in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, on October 14, 1949, for the conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

The "Daily Worker," January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that STACHEL had been elected a member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

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SIDNEY STEIN

On June 20, 1951, SIDNEY STEIN was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in the Southern District of New York for violation of the Smith Act. He evaded arrest until August 27, 1953, when he was apprehended in company with [redacted] near Twain Harte, California.

On May 3, 1954, STEIN was sentenced in the Northern District of California to two years on an accessory charge, and one year on conspiracy to harbor with three years to serve.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that STEIN was elected an alternate member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

[redacted]  
[redacted] was convicted of violation of the Smith Act of 1940, in United States District Court, New Haven, Connecticut, on March 29, 1956.

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The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that STONE was elected an alternate member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Mr. ROBERT JOHNSON, Passport Legal Division, Passport Office, Department of State, advised SA [redacted] on October 30, 1956, that ANNA LOUISE STRONG, during a hearing held on that date for the purpose of determining whether she should be issued a passport, advised that she considered herself a CP member until 1949, when she was expelled from the Soviet Union. She stated that she has not been a Communist since.

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T-43 on October 8, 1956, furnished information that should ANNA LOUISE STRONG receive her passport, she would go to Europe as an accredited correspondent for the "National Guardian."

AUGUSTA STRONG

T-2 has advised on September 9, 1955, that STRONG was employed as a writer on the staff of "The Worker."

EDWARD EUGENE STRONG

EDWARD STRONG was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for the District of Massachusetts, Boston, Massachusetts on May 29, 1956, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940. He is presently at liberty on \$10,000.00 bail awaiting trial.

[REDACTED]

T-14 on July 19, 1950, described [REDACTED] as a CP member.

[REDACTED]

T-5 advised on December 8, 1955, that [REDACTED] was then District Organizer of the Connecticut CP District.

[REDACTED]

T-29 has advised on March 6, 1956, and September 25, 1956, that [REDACTED] was scheduled to appear at the National Office on Tuesdays and Thursdays and was performing clerical work there.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was convicted for violation of the Smith Act of 1940, on February 11, 1956, at the United States District Court, Cleveland, Ohio.

MAX MORRIS WEISS

T-16 has advised in November, 1956, that MAX MORRIS WEISS was then a member of the CP, USA National Committee and National Educational Director.

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[REDACTED]

T-5 has advised on December 8, 1955, that [REDACTED] was District Organizer of the Ohio District of the CP.

[REDACTED]

T-1 advised on July 14, 1955, that [REDACTED] was reported in over-all charge of the Harlem Region CP and was to operate the Harlem Regional Headquarters.

JOHN WILLIAMSON

JOHN WILLIAMSON was convicted on October 14, 1949, in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. He was released from prison on March 1, 1955. WILLIAMSON was granted permission to leave the United States voluntarily under warrant of deportation and departed the United States for England on May 4, 1955.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that WILLIAMSON had been elected a member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

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CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER was convicted in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, on October 14, 1949, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, page 1, column 1, reported that WINTER had been elected a member of the CP National Committee at its 15th National Convention.

ISADORE WOFSY

T-16 has advised on May 27, 1955, that ISADORE WOFSY was reported to be the nominal treasurer of the CP.



T-36 advised on June 4, 1955, that  is the Secretary-Chauffeur of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

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### III. GLOSSARY OF ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

The following organizations and publications mentioned in this report may be characterized as follows:

#### American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

#### Armenian National Council of America (ANCA)

T-10 advised on April 26, 1956, that the ANCA had been formed in 1944 and was made up of three parties, the APLA, the Hunchagian Party (Socialists) and the Ramgovars, (Liberal Democrats) together with the compatriot unions composed of individuals who had immigrated to this country from various Armenian cities. According to T-10 the APLA had continued to be the main Communist element within the ANCA and has continued to control its policies.

#### Armenian Progressive League of America (APLA)

The APLA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

#### City Committee of English Speaking Clubs - NY, NY

T-17 advised November 13, 1956, that the City Committee of English Speaking Clubs, NY, NY, composed of the clubs and societies organized from the dissolved JPFO, IWO lodges and organized through the Jewish Publications and Cultural Committee

#### Council of Greek Americans

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NY 100-4931

"Daily Worker"

The "Daily Worker" is an East coast Communist newspaper.

"Economic Notes"

Among publications which the committee found "to be communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system".

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 224)

"Greek American Tribune"

T-13 advised on April 17, 1956, that the "Greek American Tribune" is a Greek weekly newspaper published by the Proodos Publishing Company, 35 West 21st Street, New York City. T-13 described this newspaper as a Greek Communist publication.

Hellenic Center

T-13 advised on December 6, 1955, that the Hellenic Center, 257 7th Avenue, New York City, is utilized as a meeting place by the American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, the Council of Greek Americans and the "Greek American Tribune."

Jefferson School of Social Science (JSSS)

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NY 100-4931

"Jewish Life"

"1. 'Among typical examples of the Communist press, and publications.' (Published by the Morning Freiheit Ass'n, Inc.)

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 49 & 225)

"2. A Communist International publication distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Massachusetts.

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281.)"

Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order,  
International Workers Order (JPFO, IWO)

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Jewish Publication and Cultural Committee (JPCC)

T-18 advised that the JPCC was formerly known as the Jewish Publication and Research Committee, the JPRC having changed its name to JPCC on May 18, 1955.

T-19 advised on July 20, 1955, that the former leaders of the JPFO, IWO, were working through the JPRC in organizing former JPFO lodges into cultural clubs.

Labor Youth League (LYL)

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NY 100-4931

"March of Labor"

The House Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated December 22, 1954, captioned "Report on the March of Labor" states on page 1, "A publication which today is carrying out the dictates of Lenin by bringing disguised Communist propaganda into the ranks of American workers is the March of Labor."

"Morning Freiheit"

The "DW" for December 9, 1946, page 7, column 1, editorially referred to the "MF" as the Jewish language Communist newspaper.

"National Guardian"

The 1949 report of the California Committee on Un-American Activities cited the "National Guardian" as a publication launched in New York in 1948 aiming at national circulation, which it found to be from its inception notoriously Stalinist in its staff, writers, management and content. (1949 report of the California Senate Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, page 394.)

"Political Affairs"

Cited as an "official Communist Party monthly theoretical organ" by Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 5 and 36.

"The Worker"

"The Worker" is the Sunday edition of the "DW."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Yiddisher Kultur Farband (YKUF)

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Yugoslav American Cooperative Home, Inc.

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-4931

VETERANS' MATTERS  
(Bureau File 100-3-73)  
(New York File 100-79498)

This section was prepared by SA [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]  
No pertinent information has been developed  
during the period of this report.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

NY 100-4931

WOMEN MATTERS

(Bufile 100-3-78)  
(New York File 100-80643)

This section was prepared by SA

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No. pertinent information was developed during the period of this report.

ADMINISTRATIVE.. PAGE

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INFORMANTS

IDENTITY OF  
INFORMANT

DATE OF ACTIVITY  
OR DESCRIPTION  
OF INFORMATION

T-1

[REDACTED]

Documentation: GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY  
and [REDACTED]

T-2

[REDACTED]

Documentation: ABNER BERRY; [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

"Daily Worker" editorial of 10/22/56 written  
by DENNIS; WEISS; GATES.

STEVE NELSON statement that JOHN GATES  
would undoubtedly lose, and that JAMES  
ALLEN was being sponsored as new editor  
of the DW.

DW staff backs GATES.

DW expected to cease publication.

DW editorial re Hungary.

GATES reaction to "Kommunist" article.

T-3

[REDACTED]

Negroes against proposal to change  
CP line.

T-4

NY 1772-S\*

Committees to deal with Negro Question  
at National Convention.

Proposed Negro magazine.

CP National leaders met 10/30/56-11/1/56  
re: Poland & Hungary.

National Board met 11/28/56 re: Mideast  
situation.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE



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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>IDENTITY OF INFORMANT</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>
T-4 (continued)	Proposal by FRED FINE of public relations committee to include SIMON W. GERSON; SIDNEY STEIN and <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span>
T-5 CG 5824-S*	<p>Negro members against U.S. Policy in Middle East</p> <p>Letter dated 11/23/56 sent by ALBERT BLUMBERG regarding the "Democratic Declaration of 1957".</p> <p>Letter dated 12/3/56, sent by ALBERT BLUMBERG as a followup of his letter of 11/29/56.</p> <p>Nationalities group work, 10/20/56.</p> <p>"Upper Midwest Grass Roots Outlook"</p> <p>DENNIS' security measures in correspondence with WILLIAMSON.</p> <p>Birth records of children born to underground couples being changed.</p> <p>Efforts of CP to obtain hotel or similar establishment for National Convention and likelihood of use of Yugoslav Hall.</p> <p>Party leaders want jobs outside the Communist Party.</p> <p>Advance copy of EUGENE DENNIS' article: "What Kind of a Change?"</p> <p>Enlarged meeting of National Committee, 12/17 to 19/56.</p> <p>Result of submission of resignation by MAX WEISS.</p>

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

NY 100-4931

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>IDENTITY OF INFORMANT</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>
T-5 (continued)	EUGENE DENNIS on his plans to wage fight on two fronts.
	Documentation: FRED FINE; [redacted] [redacted] CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT; [redacted] [redacted]
	DW move to Chicago.
	PHIL BART re DW finances.
	Publications Committee for DW.
T-6 [redacted]	Communist new look at the Negro Question.
T-7 NY 1637-S*	11/29/56
T-8 NY 1743-S*	12/3/56
	Discussion Bulletin.
	Distribution of Draft Resolution.
	"March of Labor"
	GIL GREEN's book.
	Document entitled "Second Meeting Trade Union Resolution Committee, Oct. 1, 1956" made available.
	CP National Office payroll.
	Letter dated 10/26/56 from CP, Belgium to CP, USA.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>IDENTITY OF INFORMANT</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>
T-8 (continued)	<p>Letter dated 11/5/56 from CP; Israel to CP; USA.</p> <p>Memorandum dated 10/26/56 entitled "memorandum on The Jefferson School"</p> <p>Document furnished re: Ban of H-Bomb Issue in 1956 Election.</p> <p>Description of CP National Office at 101 West 16th Street, NYC.</p> <p>9/18/56, letter of EUGENE DENNIS noting election of FRED FINE as Executive Secretary of the National Committee.</p> <p>Call to National Convention.</p> <p>Appointment of [ ] to Committee on Resolutions.</p> <p>Document entitled: "Youth Work".</p>
T-9 CSNY 971-S	12/3/56
T-10 [ ]	Documentation: Armenian National Council of America (ANCA)
T-11 CG 5824-S*	<p>National Negro Leadership Question of civil rights Proposals for discussion Negro Question</p> <p>Gil Green's book.</p> <p>Made available letter addressed "to all members of the N.C.", dated 6/24/56.</p>

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>IDENTITY OF INFORMANT</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>
T-11 (continued)	Remarks of DENNIS made at N.C. Meeting, 11/16/56.
	Remarks of DENNIS made at N.C. Meeting, 11/17/56.
	Draft Statement, "The Coming Session of Congress"
	DENNIS' security measures regarding meetings in Chicago.
	Activities of Drafting Committee on Resolutions.
	[redacted] an editor of "The Worker", being replaced by ALBERT E. BLUMBERG on peace issues for the CP.
	Status of PHIL BART.
	Enlarged meeting of National Committee, 11/13 to 17/56.
	Identification of SIDNEY STEIN as chairman of Resolutions Committee.
	Decision to conduct no CP registration in 1956.
	Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT at N.C. meeting on 12/18/56
	Documentation: [redacted]

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T-12

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
Hellenic Center, 10/11/56

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>IDENTITY OF INFORMANT</u>	<u>DATE OF ACTIVITY OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION</u>
T-13 [redacted]	Documentation: Hellenic Center, 257 7th Avenue, NYC, "Greek American Tribune".
T-14 [redacted]	Jewish culture in Soviet Union IKUF Organization Note from Jewish leaders to [redacted] and [redacted] Documentation: PAUL NOVICK. [redacted]
T-15 [redacted]	Jews felt Party should be more tolerant
T-16 CG 5824-S*	ED STRONG resignation; election policy re: Negroes  National Convention Discussion re: Negro - White unity  [redacted] remarks re: Negro leadership  Letter addressed to National Committee members dated 12/12/56.  Report on ALBERT BLUMBERG's report at National committee meeting held on 11/13/56.  [redacted] in Chicago 11/25/56, to attend CP Commission - Steel Industry Meeting.  Enlarged meeting N.C. 11/13-17/56

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b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

IDENTITY OF  
INFORMANT

DATE OF ACTIVITY OR  
DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION

T-16 (continued)

FINE letter dated 11/21/56

DENNIS letter dated 11/27/56

WILLIAMSON article "Hold Fast to a  
Marxist-Leninist Course".

DENNIS' comments re WILLIAMSON.

DENNIS' statements re international  
participation by CP; USA.

Details of National Committee meeting  
held 11/17/56.

National CP "Council" proposed as  
security measure.

Attack on Smith Act and Informer  
System.

ISADORE WOFSY to look for job in  
private industry.

Status of BETTY GANNETT.

FRED FINE letter 12/7/56.

Identification of chairman and  
secretary of Personnel Committee and  
its members; meeting on 12/18/56.

Meeting held on 11/26/56 on Negro  
Question

Meeting of National CP Board 10/4/56  
re LYL

Return of  to the staff  
of the "Daily Worker"

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b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

IDENTITY OF  
INFORMANT

DATE OF ACTIVITY OR  
DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION

T-16 (continued)

Documentation: PHIL BART  
ARCHIE BROWN  
MORRIS CHILDS

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

MAX WEISS  
ISADORE WOFSY

b6  
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b7D

T-17

[REDACTED]

Outline for discussion in "The  
Jewish Community and the Clubs" -  
11/13/56.

Documentation: City Committee of  
English Speaking Clubs

T-18

Former  
CSNY 335-S

Documentation: Jewish Publication  
and Cultural Committee

T-19

[REDACTED]

Documentation: Jewish Publication  
and Research Committee

T-20

[REDACTED]

"Jewish Life" in 1946

Information re: "Morning Freiheit"

T-21

[REDACTED]

Yugoslav faction activity

T-22

[REDACTED]

NED SPARKS' connection with publica-  
tions.

CP Farm matters.

Steps to be taken to remove CP  
national headquarters to Chicago.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

NY 100-4931

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

IDENTITY OF  
INFORMANT

DATE OF ACTIVITY  
OR DESCRIPTION  
OF INFORMATION

T-22 (continued)

JOHN GATES on future of CP.

PHIL BART on situation within CP.

Activity of VICTOR PERLO on  
Economic Committee.

EUGENE DENNIS on inner party situation.

Documentation: [REDACTED]

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T-23  
NY 1850-S\*

Documentation of NED SPARKS

Document entitled: "Trade Union  
Resolution - First Draft.. Oct. 16,  
1956."

T-24

[REDACTED]

CP Press Conference, NYC.

Documentation: [REDACTED]

T-25

[REDACTED]

Information regarding meeting held  
11/11/56.

T-26  
NY 1694-S\*

FOSTER wrote DUCLOS re: situation  
in CP, USA.

FOSTER's remarks regarding youth  
matters.

T-27

[REDACTED]

Information re: receipts, expenditures,  
assets and liabilities of CP  
National Office.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)



NY 100-4931

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

IDENTITY OF  
INFORMANT

DATE OF ACTIVITY  
OR DESCRIPTION  
OF INFORMATION

T-28  
NY 694-S\*

Information re: expenses of CP  
National Convention

FOSTER to send estimate of CP, USA  
situation to CP, Canada.

Information re; submission of  
resignation of MAX WEISS.

Sale of Jefferson School of Social  
Science premises and search for  
new space of National and State  
Offices of CP.

MAX WEISS' description of two  
extreme groups and one middle group  
in CP.

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b7C  
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T-29  
NY 1726-S\*

CP, USA sending invitations to  
N. Convention to foreign CPs.

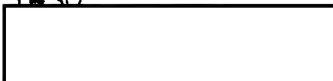
Maintenance of CP National Office at  
101 West 16th Street, NYC.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT invited to serve  
on leadership committee.

Documentation:



T-30



36th Anniversary Soviet Armenia  
copy of notice of celebration

T-31



Attempt of remove CP national  
headquarters to Chicago

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

IDENTITY OF  
INFORMANT

DATE OF ACTIVITY  
OR DESCRIPTION  
OF INFORMATION

T-32

[REDACTED]

EUGENE DENNIS on future of CP.

T-33

[REDACTED]

HOWARD SELSAM on religion

T-34

CSSE 2286-S\*

FRED FINE ON situation in Party

T-35

[REDACTED]

Statement of [REDACTED] that NY leadership was asking for return of those who had left CP.

T-36

NY 1317-S\*

Documentation: [REDACTED]

T-37

[REDACTED]

Documentation: DOROTHY HEALEY

T-38

SF 1425-S\*

Documentation: LOUISE TODD  
LAMBERT

T-39

[REDACTED]

Documentation: HYMAN LUMER

T-40

[REDACTED]

Documentation: [REDACTED] also known  
as [REDACTED]

T-41

NY 1322-S\*

Documentation: LILLIAN GATES

T-42

NY 1704-S\*

Documentation: [REDACTED]

T-43

[REDACTED]

Documentation: ANNA LOUISE STRONG

T-44

[REDACTED]

Documentation: MICHAEL RUSSO

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

NY 100-4931

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

IDENTITY OF  
INFORMANT

DATE OF ACTIVITY  
OR DESCRIPTION  
OF INFORMATION

T-45

Documentation: HOWARD SELSAM

T-46

DW finances.

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

NY 100-4931

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report have been designated for all offices, in accordance with specific Bureau instructions.

LEAD:

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report pertinent activities of the CP USA for the quarterly period 1/1/57 to 3/31/57.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, 10/19/56, New York.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) (#19)

JAN 23 1957

SA JAMES E. REILLY

CP, USA ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

Identity of Informant  
Reliability

NY 1726-S\*  
Who has furnished  
reliable informa-  
tion in the past.  
12/6/56.

Date

According to NY 1726-S\* on 12/6/56, a man named PETE contacted SI (believed to be SI GERSON) at CP National Hdqrs. PETE mentioned the call to the convention and wondered about the mathematics of the figuring of the delegates. He said the call stated that there would be 250 delegates or three for every hundred and at this rate the party has only 8,250 members. PETE said, according to DENNIS's figuring, there were 20,000 members so there should be about 600 delegates. SI explained that money was the big factor and on the West Coast, the delegates would not be fully represented and so forth. PETE mentioned that the figures were according to dues up to October. SI agreed that this was so. PETE said he was trying to get the figures correctly because he said there were people outside the Party that got their figures in this manner.

In the event it becomes necessary to disseminate this information, care should be taken to protect the informant's identity.

- 1 - NY 100-13473 (SIMON GERSON) (#19)  
1 - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (#19)  
1 - NY 100- (PETE LNU) (#7-6)

JER:RCM

4

100-80638 - 1159

*[Handwritten signature: J. Waters]*  
#19

January 24, 1957

AIR TEL

AIR MAIL REGISTERED

TO : Director, FBI (100-3-68)  
FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-16906)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C

On 1/4/57 [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that THOMAS DEWITT DENNIS, convicted Detroit Smith Act Subject and a Michigan District 7 CP Functionary, had in his possession miscellaneous notes and cards setting forth what appears to be the transfer of CP members into and out of District 7.

The contents of each transfer document is being set forth verbatim:

(Front)

back

Marv & Ev.  
64 Arlo Rd 1 B  
Staten Isl. N.Y.

1)

Sun  
Write up info  
for Marv. & Ev. transfer

This is believed to refer to [redacted] and [redacted] former CP members of District 7, CP.

(Front)

2 couples

Kolman  
Ravitz

Mil  
Dv

This is believed to refer to person with last names as above (FNU) who may be transferees from the Milwaukee Division. Milwaukee

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- ② - New York (Info.) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)
- 4 - Detroit
  - 1 - 100-17920 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-18073 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-8482-Sub 1

HJS:MOS  
(11)

100-81638-1160

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Waters*

AIRTEL

will furnish any information regarding identity or background of these subjects to Detroit.

In addition to above, [redacted] advised on 1/24/57 that DENNIS had in his possession a letter from one [redacted] now residing [redacted] Pontiac, Mich., which letter requested reinstatement of membership in District 7 and listing [redacted] former membership as Rice Lake, Wisconsin.

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Milwaukee will furnish any information available regarding this Subject.

BROWN

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
DISTRICT #8  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 1-24-57

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S\* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on January 17, 1957, that he had received the following information in a conversation with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman, and [redacted] Organization [redacted] of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District, on that date:

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b7C

The National Office of the Communist Party - USA has advised the Illinois-Indiana District that on the basis of the dues reports submitted thus far to the National Office, this District will be entitled to only nineteen delegates to the National Convention. The District leadership believed that on the basis of a 100% dues payment through October, 1956, it would be entitled to twenty-six delegates to the National Convention.

In an effort to increase its representation at the National Convention, LIGHTFOOT has given [redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-74560) (CP - USA, Funds) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
- 6 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-17769) (CP - USA, Funds)
  - (1 - 100-18952) (CP - USA, Membership)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-2749) [redacted]

JW JEK:kw  
(10)

Noted  
A831/30/57

Waters

100-80638-1161  
JW



CG 100-18953

permission to juggle dues payment figures submitted to the National Office. The figures will be juggled in a manner similar to the following: If a \$10 dues payment is collected from a member who is supposed to pay \$10 dues per month, this individual will be given credit in the division records for this payment. However, the report of the District to the National Office will show that four persons who are supposed to pay \$2.50 dues per month have made payments for one month.

CG 5824-S\* pointed out that it is very possible that other Districts will use the same or similar devices; therefore, records of dues payments submitted to the National Office may or may not reflect the true situation in any given District.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 1-28-57

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on January 23, 1957. This information had been received in a conversation with FRED FINE, Executive Secretary of the Communist Party - USA, on that date.

New Article by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

FINE stated that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER has prepared a new article which has started the fight in the Communist Party all over again. According to FINE, FOSTER, in this article, accuses the so-called middle group and the GATES forces, or the Right-wing forces, in the National Committee of being nationalist Communists. This means, in effect, that he is accusing a majority of the National Committee of being nationalist Communists. FINE stated that FOSTER's article is based on the Chinese document (reference is to an article from the Peking people's daily entitled, "More On Historical Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship"). FINE stated that FOSTER is utilizing the Chinese document as if it were another Duclos letter.

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2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)  
4 - Boston (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100- )  
    (1 - 100- ) (MICHAEL RUSSO) 100-8638-1162  
    (1 - 100- )

See 1a and 1b pages for additional copies. JAN 28 1957

*Waters* 19  
*J.V. Waters*  
#19

CG 100-18953

1 - Buffalo (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)  
2 - Charlotte (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100- ) (JAMES JACKSON)  
4 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100-17257) (CP - USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100- ) (BETTY GANNETT)  
    (1 - 100- ) (HYMAN LUMER)  
    (1 - 100-19665) [REDACTED]  
2 - Denver (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100- ) (Cominfil - UPWA)  
2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100-11093) (CP - USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100-9529) (EMANUEL BLUM)  
2 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100-26044) (CP - USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100- ) (VIVIAN (LNU))  
2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100-42-I) (CP - USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
30 - New York (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 134-91) (NY 694-S\*) (P & C) (#6) (Info)  
    (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)  
    (1 - 100-80641) (Sub A) (CP - USA, Organization, 16th National  
        Convention) (#19)  
    (1 - 100-86624) (CP - USA, International Relations) (#19)  
    (1 - 100-87211) (CP - USA, Factionalism) (#19)  
    (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)  
    (1 - 100-81752) (CP - USA, Brief) (#7-2)  
    (1 - 100-26603) (CP - USA, District #2)  
    (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#19)  
    (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
    (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)  
    (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)  
    (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
    (1 - 100-110840) [REDACTED]  
    (1 - 100-87561) [REDACTED]  
    (1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE)  
    (1 - 100-22066) (BERNARD FRIEDLAND)  
    (1 - 100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT)  
    (1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)  
    (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#19)  
    (1 - 100- ) (AL LANNON)  
    (1 - 100-467) (WILLIAM LAWRENCE)

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CG 100-18953

- (1 - 100-64755) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100- ) (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)
- (1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (#19)
- (1 - 100-20649) (ED STRONG) (#19)
- (1 - 100-18673) [REDACTED] (#19)
- (1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (#19)
- (1 - 100-21431) [REDACTED]
- 3 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-31723) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (PHIL BART)
  - (1 - 100-7800) (ED STRONG)
- 5 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Security Measures)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-1763) (STEVE NELSON)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
- 4 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (LOUISE TODD LAMBERT)
  - (1 - 100- ) (AL RICHMOND)
  - (1 - 97-26) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
- 15 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-24729) (EMANUEL BLUM)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100-12890) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-18001) (FRED FINE)
  - (1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)
  - (1 - 100-20289) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-2749) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-18963) (CP - USA, Factionalism)
  - (1 - 100-18952) (CP - USA, Membership)
  - (1 - 100-17769) (CP - USA, Funds)
  - (1 - 100-8009) (Cominfil - UPWA)

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CG 5824-S\* also learned that FINE stated that he had dictated an article in answer to FOSTER's article and in his article FINE charges FOSTER with everything under the sun. FINE stated that he may have committed political suicide and may have signed his own death warrant, but that he just could not stand it any longer. FINE believes that he is finished politically and that he may be looking for a job in a few weeks. He stated, however, that he felt that someone had to answer FOSTER. He also stated that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT agreed with FINE that there had to be an answer to FOSTER's article.

The article by FOSTER and the one by FINE were sent to all Districts by the National Office on January 23, 1957.

Conventions Within the New York District

FINE furnished the following information concerning conventions which have been held within the New York Communist Party District:

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New York County (Manhattan)

FINE stated that there was a terrible battle in the Manhattan Convention. He stated that the DAVIS majority, with the support of Harlem, ran the convention like a real machine. The Draft Resolution was defeated by a vote of something like 67 to 52, with 18 abstentions.

[redacted] was nominated for [redacted] of the convention, more out of respect for her age than anything else; however, PAUL ROBESON, JR., was later nominated and because of the Negro question, [redacted] had to withdraw and ROBESON was elected Chairman of the convention.

FINE said that he had learned that bloody speeches were made at the Manhattan Convention. It was stated that every Negro in the South has ammunition in his home and is fighting and giving his life. At the same time, the Communist Party has no courage and it does not want to get out and fight. FINE said that some members in attendance at the Manhattan Convention got up and left the meeting and have said that they are leaving the Communist Party.

When it came time to elect delegates to both the District and National Conventions, all persons were eliminated who

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did not fully accept the point of view of FOSTER and DAVIS.

At this convention, BEN DAVIS, who had previously voted in favor of the Draft Resolution, changed his vote and is now opposed to the Draft Resolution as a result of the Chinese document.

Industrial Convention in the  
New York District

FINE stated that the industrial sections held a separate convention in the New York District and the result was an overwhelming victory for the FOSTER forces.

CG 5824-S\* advised that FINE stated that twenty persons in attendance at the Industrial Convention walked out of the meeting and stated that they are going to quit the Party. FINE said that at this convention a resolution was formulated which contained all of the old phrases. For example, the resolution advocated a Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party based on the principles of democratic centralism. Efforts by some delegates to offer amendments to this resolution were to no avail because the delegates were ruled out of order and could not even get recognition from the Convention Chairman. It was this procedure which resulted in twenty persons walking out and saying that there is no place for them in an organization where they cannot even express their opinions.

AL LANNON organized the Party forces in the Maritime industry and they fully supported the FOSTER position at the Industrial Convention.

JACK STACHEL described the Industrial Convention to some of the members of the National Committee. He said that he had never seen anything like this strong movement to the Left. He stated that it reminded him of the worst days of the Party in the early 1920's, when it was a revolutionary underground sect. STACHEL called this convention a backward step and "anti-diluvian."

Bronx Convention

FINE stated that at the Bronx Convention they voted about 2 to 1 in favor of the Draft Resolution but did offer some amendments to it. He said that the delegates to the District and National Conventions from the Bronx are composed of members with

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different viewpoints in contrast to the situation in Manhattan.

Queens Convention

According to FINE, the results of the Queens Convention were similar to those in the Bronx. The general line of the Draft Resolution was endorsed with some amendments.

Brooklyn Convention

The Brooklyn Convention also endorsed the general line of the Draft Resolution. The vote was approximately 85 to 52.

Western New York State

FINE stated that at the convention in Buffalo, New York, the Draft Resolution was endorsed by a vote which was about 2 to 1 in favor of the resolution. Some proposed amendments were adopted.

Nassau County

The results of the convention in Nassau County were similar to the results of the Buffalo Convention.

FINE's Comments on the New York District

FINE stated that a middle group has come into being in New York. This group is led by BILL LAWRENCE, [redacted] and others. FINE said that this group could no longer stomach the trend to the extreme Left. He stated, however, that the price of the middle group is too great for making a deal. They want to have a hand in the selection of the New York District leadership.

FINE commented that the existence of sectarianism and Leftism among the rank and file members of the Communist Party in New York City probably caused the New York leadership to abdicate as soon as it saw that it was defeated. FINE stated that he was speaking of those in the leadership who hold views which are to the extreme Right. In this connection, he mentioned [redacted] BERNARD FRIENDLAND, [redacted] and [redacted]

FINE stated that at the present time he believes that the delegates to the New York District Convention and to the

CG 100-18953

National Convention are probably split about 50 - 50. He said that there may be a few votes in favor of those who hold positions all the way from the middle group to the extreme Right, as opposed to the forces of the Left or the FOSTER forces.

Effect of Conventions in the New  
York District on the National Committee

FINE stated that at the present time it is the opinion of a majority of the members of the National Committee that the Party may become so sectarian that it will surpass anything like it that has occurred in the past. He said that reports have been received that some members in New York City are condemning the anti-monopoly coalition front as it is advocated in the Draft Resolution and want to form a united front from below and use similar slogans which were prevalent during the days of the Comintern in 1934 and 1935. FINE stated that DENNIS is getting scared because of these recent developments but that he is not doing anything about it.

According to FINE, a majority of the National Committee believes that a serious situation will be created as a result of the utilization of the Chinese document. Even if the National Convention is completed, in some form or another, there will be a fight afterward and there is a possibility that it will be impossible to finish the National Convention.

FINE's Comments on National Developments

FINE stated that, in his opinion, FOSTER is doing the following. He is driving for a split on the basis of a need for loyalty and allegiance to Russia. FOSTER is using the Chinese document just as the Russians used the influence of the Chinese in Poland and Hungary recently.

FINE believes that unless there is some modification of the opposing points of view at the National Convention or even at the New York District Convention, there will be a split in the Party. He believes that some of the followers of GATES, and possibly GATES himself, may split off from the Communist Party.

FINE admits that the Right-wing group and the middle group of the National Committee are being defeated because they do not have experienced people. He stated that the FOSTER group has the experienced politicians.



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Proposal Concerning Re-convening  
District Conventions as a Result  
of Recent Developments

FINE stated that as a result of the recent developments and in anticipation of a battle at the National Convention, the National Committee will propose that the re-convening District Conventions, which will elect District leadership, be postponed for six weeks to two months after the National Convention to allow for a simmering down period. He stated that it is believed that this procedure is necessary to insure that any leadership will remain in the Party.

Western Pennsylvania District Convention

FINE stated that the Western Pennsylvania Convention was held last week. He said that it was convened in two separate parts, a Community Convention and an Industrial Convention. Four persons were present for each part of the convention. Subsequently, all eight met together briefly under extreme security conditions. FINE mentioned that [redacted] who is not generally known as a Communist Party member, attended the convention.

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The Western Pennsylvania District endorsed the Draft Resolution and the amendments to it. There was no fight in the Western Pennsylvania District Convention on the Draft Resolution. STEVE NELSON and [redacted] were elected as delegates to the National Convention. A third delegate is a shop employee. CG 5824-S\* advised that while he does not know the identity of the third delegate, it may be [redacted]. It is also possible that one of the three delegates elected to the National Convention is an alternate delegate.

New England District Convention

CG 5824-S\* learned from FRED FINE that at the New England District Convention the Draft Resolution and the amendments to it were endorsed. [redacted] refused to run for election as a delegate to the National Convention. She thought that it was useless and it involved too much abuse. Mentioned by FINE as among the delegates to the National Convention from the New England District were MICHAEL RUSSO and [redacted]

California District Convention

FINE stated that the California District Convention was held last week. He said that the California District endorsed the general line of the Draft Resolution and, in particular, endorsed Part 4, which is considered the most important part of the Resolution. Some amendments to the Draft Resolution were suggested by the California District and were approved at the convention.

While there were some sharp battles over the election of delegates to the National Convention, on the whole it is felt that the California District was more united than was believed before the convention. AL RICHMOND, LOUISE TODD LAMBERT and BILL SCHNEIDERMAN were elected delegates by a large majority, while before the convention SCHNEIDERMAN feared that he would not be elected. To further illustrate unity in the California District, FINE stated that the Organization Secretary in Los Angeles County, one VIVIAN, has been advocating the abolition of the Party and the formation of a political action association. Everyone knew her views and she introduced a resolution to this effect at the convention. Her resolution was defeated by a vote of about 180 to 50. On the other hand, she was elected as a delegate to the National Convention. FINE stated that this indicated that the California District voted for delegates with various points of view, provided that the persons were known as workers in the Communist Party.

FINE did state that the California District had some difficulty with the preamble to the Draft Constitution. BILL SCHNEIDERMAN, who is a parliamentarian and an old hand at conventions, said that he has not been able to figure out what happened in this regard. He said that every motion introduced contradicted a previous motion. As a result, the California District does not know what it will recommend concerning the preamble.

According to FINE, the California District plans to send only 25 to 30 delegates to the National Convention. This is only about one-half of the number of delegates the District is entitled to send to the convention. He further stated that California did not elect one delegate to the National Convention from outside the California District. They refused to do this because it was felt that it would create a terrible controversy and that it would be considered anti-democratic. Because of this, the California District incurred the wrath of the National

CG 100-18953

Office. The National Office feels that the California District could have utilized part of its unused quota for this purpose, since it will not send a full delegation. This would have eliminated the necessity of attempting to get some National Committee members and National Office employees elected as delegates to the National Convention from smaller Districts which are allowed few delegates.

On the whole, however, the majority of the National Committee members, as opposed to the FOSTER forces, are pleased with the results of the California District Convention. The majority of the National Committee members are satisfied with any endorsement of the Draft Resolution, even though additional amendments are offered. The majority of the National Committee feels that the present Draft Resolution represents a break with the past.

Plans for Other District Conventions  
and Attempts to Elect National Com-  
mittee Members and National Office  
Employees as Delegates to the National  
Convention

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Illinois-Indiana and New York Districts

CG 5824-S\* advised that one purpose of FINE's trip to Chicago was to get some persons from New York elected as delegates to the National Convention at the District Convention of the Illinois-Indiana District on January 26 and 27, 1957. Another purpose was to attempt to mobilize support in the Illinois-Indiana District for the Draft Resolution in the belief that the Draft Resolution is the only thing that can save the Party from the Left-wing forces of FOSTER.

FINE stated that while he was originally interested in getting EUGENE DENNIS elected as a delegate to the National Convention from the Illinois-Indiana District and DENNIS planned to attend the convention of the Illinois-Indiana District to aid his cause, these plans have been altered. It has been decided that at the New York District Convention an effort will be made to elect EUGENE DENNIS, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and JOHN GATES as delegates to the National Convention from the New York District as a sort of show of unity. BEN DAVIS, JR., has already been elected as a delegate to the National Convention from Harlem.

Because of this new plan, DENNIS was afraid to leave New York City for the purpose of attending the District Convention in Chicago. He was afraid that if he did not stay in New York, he might be double-crossed by FOSTER and/or GATES and also there was no guarantee that he would be elected as a delegate to the National Convention from the Illinois-Indiana District.

FINE said that he wants to get himself, [redacted] and MAX WEISS elected as delegates to the National Convention from the Illinois-Indiana District. He said that WEISS is almost in a state of hysteria. WEISS threatened to send out a letter to every District in the country asking that his name be placed in nomination as a delegate to the National Convention. FINE stated that he can understand why WEISS is very subjective. FINE called New York on January 23, 1957, to advise WEISS that [redacted] Executive Secretary of the Illinois-Indiana District, was opposed to the election of WEISS as a delegate and that there was no guarantee that WEISS would be elected from the Illinois-Indiana District. FINE further stated that he told WEISS that he would have to know by January 24, 1957, whether or not WEISS wanted his name placed in nomination.

With regard to the number of delegates to the National Convention from the Illinois-Indiana District, FINE stated that the number of delegates will be based on total dues payments through October, 1956. Furthermore, the National Office does not desire to know what dues were collected in November, December or January. Therefore, the number of dues collected thus far can be applied to 1956 and the total divided by ten to determine membership figures as a basis for the number of delegates. Therefore, FINE agreed that the Illinois-Indiana District is entitled to a total of 28 delegates, or 22 regular and six alternate delegates.

At a meeting of the Administrative Staff of the Illinois-Indiana District on January 23, 1957, it was agreed that delegates to the National Convention would be selected at the Illinois-Indiana District Convention in the following manner. Ten delegates-at-large will be nominated. These ten will include FINE, [redacted] and WEISS. Then, eighteen persons who have been nominated as delegates to the National Convention by the various divisions will be nominated. There may also be other nominations. A vote will then be taken and the 22 receiving the highest votes will be the delegates and the six receiving the next highest votes will be the alternates. Those who were nominated by the divisions

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were promised election as delegates. This plan means that they will now have to win a position as a delegate at the District Convention. While this means that the promises will not be honored, it was pointed out that the Party Constitution provides that delegates to the National Convention are to be elected at the District Convention.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that he is going down fighting for the adoption of this plan and the election of [ ] FINE and WEISS. CG 5824-S\* commented that at the present time LIGHTFOOT is very skeptical and is more cynical toward the Party than he has ever been. CG 5824-S\* attributed this attitude to the reception by LIGHTFOOT of the news concerning FOSTER's article with the use of the Chinese document as a basis for that article.

#### Ohio District Convention

The Ohio District Convention is scheduled to be held on the weekend of January 26 and 27, 1957. The National Office has suggested that the Ohio District attempt to elect BETTY GANNETT as a delegate to the National Convention, since no other District wanted to nominate her. FINE said that the Ohio District is not certain that her election can be guaranteed.

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The Ohio District has also been asked to attempt to elect [ ] former Chairman of the Ohio District and current resident of Chicago, as a delegate to the National Convention. HY LUMER agreed to nominate WEST but stated that he doubted that WEST would be elected. When WEST learned this, he wanted his name withdrawn because he did not want to be defeated. [ ] his wife and Organization Secretary of the Illinois-Indiana District, also urged FINE to withdraw her husband's name, since she stated that if he is defeated one more time he will be demoralized.

CG 5824-S\* advised on January 24, 1957, that the indictment of [ ] returned on January 23, 1957, in Cleveland, may mean that either the Ohio District or the Illinois-Indiana District will go all out to insure that [ ] is elected as a delegate to the National Convention.

#### Eastern Pennsylvania Convention

The Eastern Pennsylvania Convention has not been held as yet. Both PHIL BART and EDWARD STRONG are attempting to be

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elected as delegates to the National Convention from Eastern Pennsylvania, since they are better known in this District than in any other District. FINE stated that it is not generally known that EDWARD STRONG is suffering from cancer.

#### Wisconsin District Convention

The Wisconsin District Convention is to be held on the weekend of January 26 and 27, 1957. The National Office has asked the Wisconsin District to attempt to elect [redacted] as a delegate to the National Convention. EUGENE DENNIS and the Secretariat of the Communist Party - USA have asked MORRIS CHILDS, Co-ordinator of Midwestern Communist Party Districts, to represent the National Office on at least one day of the Wisconsin District Convention.

#### Colorado District

FINE stated that some Party members in the packing industry were elected to the National Convention from Colorado but they will not attend the convention. The National Office has issued instructions that Communist Party members in the packing industry are not to attend the National Convention.

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#### Other Delegates to the National Convention

FINE stated that JIM JACKSON is a delegate to the National Convention from North Carolina, and MORRIS CHILDS is a delegate to the National Convention from Nebraska. CG 5824-S\* learned that FINE asked CHILDS not to run as a delegate from Illinois in order to improve the possibility of electing FINE, [redacted] and WEISS as delegates.

EMANUEL BLUM is a delegate from Indiana. The National Office and the Illinois-Indiana District leadership are accusing BLUM of holding a secret convention in Indiana and getting himself elected as a delegate to the National Convention at this State Convention. He has given different versions as to the number of people who attended the convention in Indiana. As a result of this maneuver, the Party leaders in Illinois may attempt to have Indiana detached from the Illinois-Indiana District.

FINE stated that BLUM is presently in New York City caucusing with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, and that he will support the

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viewpoint of FOSTER all the way down the line. BLUM is also participating in putting the final touches to the Draft Resolution.

#### National Convention Arrangements

FINE stated that due to "FBI pressure", the Communist Party has lost permission to hold the National Convention in the Yugoslav Hall in New York City. He stated that the Party was willing to "bribe itself" into another hall at a moment's notice and would pay up to \$5,000 for a hall, if necessary.

FINE stated that about four hundred delegates are expected at the National Convention, and that the Jefferson School of Social Science building is not adequate for a meeting of this size.

FINE further stated that Amendment IV to the Draft Resolution, which deals with past errors, has been withdrawn by the Resolutions Committee. It was feared that such an amendment would cause a controversy.

#### Comments of CG 5824-S\*

CG 5824-S\* commented that it might be advisable to carefully examine FOSTER's new article and the Chinese document, which is the basis for it. It is possible that these items can be utilized in future prosecutions.

CG 5824-S\* also commented that it might be well to examine the resolutions which were passed at the Manhattan Convention and the Industrial Convention in the New York District for the same reason. Similar consideration might also be given to any proposed amendments which would change the phraseology of the present preamble to the Draft Constitution which says, in effect, that the Communist Party - USA is based on the writings of MARX, ENGELS and LENIN, as interpreted by American Communists. The anti-FOSTER forces are fighting hard to retain this phraseology in the preamble to the Draft Constitution. They consider it most important from a legal standpoint and are worried about the possibilities that it will be amended at the National Convention.

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)  
ATT'N: ASSISTANT TO DIRECTOR A.H.BELMONT  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-25880)

DATE: 1/31/57

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV  
IS - C

DONALD MAC KENZIE LESTER, wa  
IS - C; ISA - 1950

Re New York airtels to the Bureau 1/11 and 18/57.

On the evening of 1/10/57, SAS EDWARD W. BUCKLEY and CHESTER A. REILLY interviewed DONALD LESTER on the street a secure distance away from his place of employment, William Keller Associates, 110 West 42nd Street, New York, New York. At this time LESTER advised the agents that he had disassociated himself from the Party but would not further explain

12 - Bureau (100-3-99) (RM)

- (1- 100-165944)
- (1- CP,USA - FACTIONALISM 100-3-88)
- (1- CP,USA - MEMBERSHIP 100-3-68)
- (1- JOHN GATES 100-55618)
- (1- WILLIAM Z. FOSTER 61-330)
- (1- CP,USA 100-3)
- (1- CP,USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 100-3-69)
- (1- CP,USA BRONX COUNTY 100-3-4)
- (1- EUGENE DENNIS 100-15877)
- (1- [REDACTED] 100- )

11 - New York

- (#7-4)
- (1- [REDACTED] 100-63578) (#20-10)
- (1- CP,USA - FACTIONALISM 100-87211) (#19)
- (1- CP,USA - MEMBERSHIP 100-80638) (#19)
- (1- JOHN GATES 100-17923) (#19)
- (1- WILLIAM Z. FOSTER 100-9365) (#12-10)
- (1- CP,USA 100-4931) (#19)
- (1- CP,USA BRONX COUNTY 100-26603-C-40) (#20-10)
- (1- CP,USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 100-86624) (#19)
- (1- EUGENE DENNIS 100-8057) (#19)
- (1- 100-25880)

EWB:mln

(23)

EWB  
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100-80638-1163

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FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

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this. During this interview [ ] consented to keep an appointment with the agents the following week. Arrangements were made to phone [ ] at his residence after 1/15/57, since he was going out of town on a business trip on 1/14 and 15/57.

[ ] was telephonically contacted at his residence, [ ] New York, on the evening of 1/16/57, by SA BUCKLEY and agreed to an appointment for the evening of 1/17/57.

On the evening of 1/17/57, SAS BUCKLEY and REILLY met [ ] on the street in the vicinity of his office and walked several blocks to a restaurant where [ ] was interviewed for approximately three hours, the interview being terminated when [ ] commented that he had to depart since his family was expecting him home by 9:30 that evening.

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The interview was conducted under secure conditions and nothing of an unusual nature was observed.

[ ] DEFECTION FROM THE CP, USA

[ ] immediately advised SAS BUCKLEY and REILLY that he wanted to make his position crystal clear, remarking he could not cooperate with this Bureau because of his ethical principles.

[ ] remarked that he had many years of schooling studying to be a minister and even practiced the ministry in a small town in Maine before joining the CP around 1928 or 1929. [ ] stated that because of this training and background he could never bring himself to the position of [ ] involving [ ] people, in many instances friends of his in the CP movement whom he believed to be innocent and not guilty of any crime against the United States.

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Efforts made by agents BUCKLEY and REILLY to win over [ ] cooperation were met with a firm refusal by [ ] remarking that he has made a big mistake and has thrown 27 years of his life away by remaining in the Communist movement in this country. However, [ ] stated he is ready to suffer the consequences of his stupid mistakes by facing prosecution or otherwise if the United States Government so desires.

[ ] stated that his final decision to leave the CP was made shortly after the Hungarian situation. He remarked that for the past several months, commencing sometime around February of 1956, he was dissatisfied and privately disagreed with CP policy. [ ] stated several things happened, both of a personal nature as well as Party policy, which started him thinking that he was associating with, and a member of, a movement in which he no longer could believe.

[ ] stated that the decision handed down at the Twentieth Congress of the CP Soviet Union which resulted in the attack upon former Soviet leader JOSEF STALIN, caused him much private concern. [ ] stated that the Hungarian situation climaxed his thinking, causing his final decision to leave the CP movement. [ ] commented that even with 27 years in the CP movement he would still be a Hungarian freedom fighter if he was in Hungary because he disagreed with the Soviet Union's participation in the Hungarian uprisings.

[ ] stated that there were other causes for his leaving the CP and briefly mentioned them such as a charge against him for white chauvinism, and his objection to the foreign influence exerted on the policy decisions rendered by the CP, USA. [ ] realized from speaking with the rank and file members in the Bronx County area that the thinking of this group was wide apart from the

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thinking rendered by the CP leaders on the New York State Board. [ ] stated that as a Bronx County leader he favored as much freedom of discussion as possible on the part of the rank and file. [ ] endeavored on several occasions to report the thinking of the rank and file of the Bronx County at CP state board meetings which he attended but little or no attention was paid by the state leaders in so far as recognizing suggestions from the rank and file.

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Another reason [ ] mentioned for causing his thinking to change was his review of the CP today with the CP of 20 years ago. [ ] remarked that the CP today has isolated itself from minority groups such as the Negro, working class (labor) and nationalistic groups. [ ] stated that 20 years ago the Party leadership gave guidance and administration to these groups by representing them in their fight for recognition and more benefits. Today, however, [ ] believes that the Party leadership has lost control of the minority groups because of public feeling that CP, USA is dominated by Moscow, together with the crippling of the CP apparatus by sending the leaders into the underground.

[ ] stated that when the CP failed to pay attention to these minority groups the various people reorganized themselves. As a result, today the Negro, the working class and the nationalistic groups have their own organizations with their own leaders practically free from Communist control. [ ] remarked that in his opinion the CP, USA will never again gain the controlling hand in these various groups.

[ ] stated that on reviewing all of the above instances he came to the conclusion that he has made a serious lifetime mistake by continuing his association in the Party and finally decided that

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he should leave. [ ] stated that there was a personal motive behind his leaving the Party also explaining that his family life has been interfered with both from an economic and devotion standpoint. [ ] stated that he decided to leave the Party and try his hand at outside employment and was successful in securing the position as a draftsman at the William Keller Company, 110 West 42nd Street, New York, New York. [ ] stated since he has this present position he seems somewhat independent financially plus the fact that he has been paying attention to his duties as a husband and father giving more time to his home life.

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[ ] remarked that he spent five stupid, sorrowful years while being associated with the underground movement of the Party living away from his home for what reason he could not explain. [ ] stated that at his age of fifty years he has nothing to show for his lifetime except his 27 years in the movement which he regards today as a miserable, pitiful mistake. [ ] stated that his college and university training has not been utilized because of his wasted years in the Party movement.

[ ] stated that he first joined the Party around 1928 or 1929 while he was serving as a minister in a small industrial town in Maine. He stated that when the depression hit the town people who were employed in industry became unemployed and the fathers were raising their families on an average income of \$2.00 a week.

[ ] stated that while serving as a minister he saw many horrible injustices that the working man had to endure and since he believed in the socialist movement at that time he and many other socialists joined the CP movement. The Party program at that time appealed to him, that is the

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Party slogan of the "vanguard of the working class." [ ] stated that this slogan, however, has been out dated for more than twelve years, that the Party is no longer the vanguard of the working class and blamed it on the poor, unqualified, egotistical type of leadership in the CP for the past twelve years.

[ ] stated that in mid November, 1956 at a CP Bronx County board meeting he announced to the board members that he was leaving the CP for personal reasons and was resigning from his position as Bronx County Chairman.

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[ ] stated that several Bronx County board members appealed to him and talked with him at length in an effort to convince him to remain as a CP leader but [ ] remained firm to his decision to leave and his oral resignation was accepted. [ ] stated that two of the Bronx County board officials who endeavored to influence him to remain in the movement subsequently became either disillusioned or fed up with the Party and both are no longer active in the movement.

[ ] It should be noted that during the interview refused to name names of CP people.

[ ] remarked that it was agreed upon by the Bronx County board members and himself that no public announcement would be made of his resignation.

According to [ ] it was agreed that he should come around and attend a few of the meetings in order to cut off any questions on the part of the rank and file about [ ] absence from CP activities. [ ] stated that as late as 1/12/57 he appeared at the Bronx County convention and opened the convention with an introductory remark but took no other part in the convention, merely observing the activities. [ ]

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referred to his attendance at the Bronx County convention as similar to one attending a wake and in his opinion the CP national convention in February, 1957 will be the funeral of the Party.

FACTIONALISM IN THE CP, USA

[ ] advised that the CP, USA is slowly disintegrating because of the disunity which is ripping the Party wide open at all seams. [ ] stated the Twentieth Congress of the CP, SU, caused bitter debate and disagreement both on the leadership level and the rank and file. [ ] remarked that the national leaders of the Party were torn asunder by the announcements by the Twentieth Congress, CP, SU, resulting in a final split of opinion, one group headed by JOHN GATES and one group by FOSTER.

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[ ] stated that in his opinion the Bureau agents were well acquainted with the factionalist fight in the Party caused by the GATES group opposed to the FOSTER group and therefore would not hesitate to name either of these men as the leaders of their faction.

[ ] indicated that he possibly sided with the GATES group, remarking that he opposed outside or foreign influence in policy decisions of the CP, USA but the FOSTER group felt that the Soviet Union policies handed down at the Twentieth Congress were the correct ones and should be supported. [ ] stated that the leadership was in such disagreement over the Twentieth Congress decisions that they failed to even consider the opinion of the rank and file of the Party and as a result rank and file members drifted away from the Party in large numbers. [ ] stated that the FOSTER group and the GATES group will no doubt get together, iron out their differences of opinion prior to the February CP, USA convention and as a result harmony

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will reign at the national convention with FOSTER's decision being accepted and GATES will be made "the goat."

[ ] remarked that EUGENE DENNIS has been following the fight between FOSTER and GATES very closely and has done his utmost to stay clear of taking actual sides in the controversy with the hope that he, DENNIS, will be made the top Party leader at the convention. [ ] remarked that no doubt DENNIS will be mutually acceptable to both the GATES and FOSTER groups since he has not taken sides to any great extent during this factionalist fight and further because of the lack of candidates of leadership quality there is no one else to turn to but DENNIS.

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[ ] stated that the GATES policy to set up a separate Party in this country would have been good if it had received the support of the socialist groups such as the NORMAN THOMAS and the MUSTE groups but since GATES could not get this type of support and because of the old man's (FOSTER's) long standing leadership in the CP, GATES' group capitulated.

[ ] implied that if the GATES group had gained the support of other socialist groups in this country and organized a new Party he himself may have been interested in continuing in such a group.

[ ] stated that the Party has failed during the past ten years to adequately prepare any competent youth leaders to advance to top positions in the Party and in his opinion the old guard Party leaders recognized as youth leaders anyone who has not reached the age of senility.

[ ] remarked that the rank and file group, and he could only speak for the Bronx County group, were completely upset at the Hungarian situation and

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openly spoke out at section and club meetings against the national CP leaders such as FOSTER and others who upheld the righteousness of Soviet Union policy. [ ] stated that as an example to show the difference of opinion expressed on the part of county Party members he described that the Bronx County Board collected and designated \$100 for Hungarian relief to be handled through the Red Cross. [ ] stated that this was done with a feeling of independence even though the Bronx County leaders recognized that it would possibly be denounced and turned down by the national CP leaders.

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[ ] cited this as an example on the part of the lower level or rank and file who are not heeding or following the dictates of the national leaders who are losing standing and recognition as time passes.

In [ ] opinion the national convention of the CP will make a miserable showing and as a result of the convention will end with everybody so disinterested and disgusted that the Party will probably disintegrate into a splinter group in this country.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

[ ] stated that the membership of the Party today is at an all time low and that subsequent to the February convention the Party will be at the lowest ever and nothing more than a splinter group.

[ ] stated that during the past summer sometime around July, 1956 while attending a meeting, he could not recall whether it was a Bronx County board meeting or a New York State board meeting of CP leaders, he heard the figure mentioned of CP membership nationally amounting to approximately 18,000.



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[ ] stated that his years of experience in the movement have taught him one thing and that is when the Party gives out a figure the figure is generally inflated favoring the Party. [ ] stated that since he heard the figure of 18,000 CP membership in his opinion he would estimate the membership therefore to be between 15 and 18 thousand. He stated that he heard a figure mentioned at this same meeting that the CP membership in NYC amounted to around 8,000 but again he expressed this could possibly be a figure favoring the Party, that the actual membership could be closer to 7,000 or thereabouts.

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[ ] stated that in the Bronx County as of July, 1956 he estimated that there was approximately 1,500 CP members. He stated that in view of the international events such as the Hungarian and Polish situations he believed that the membership nationally, in the city and in the Bronx County have substantially decreased. [ ] expressed the opinion since he was familiar with the Bronx County more than any other area because he was assigned to the Bronx for the past several months that subsequent to the February national convention the Bronx County membership will be down below 500.

[ ] remarked that the reason he knew the Party to inflate their figures is based upon his experience in the movement during World War II when the Party was at an all time high and received somewhat favorable recognition in this country. [ ] stated that the peak of success experienced by the Party during the depression years of the mid 1930's and during World War II will never again be experienced.

[ ] stated that during the mid 1930's the Party had an announced membership for public consumption of 100,000. [ ] stated that in his opinion the membership

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at that time was closer to 80,00 than 100,000.

[ ] stated that in 1948 or 1949, the time of the first arrests of the CP national leaders by the government, many other CP leaders went into hiding. [ ] stated there was no announced signal for the leaders to go into hiding but it was more or less expected that when the arrests took place the other top leaders in the country would automatically absent themselves from their normal haunts. [ ] stated this was done in order to preserve leadership for the Party, remarking that as the government continued to make the arrests there would always be some leaders available who would be in hiding to carry on Party work.

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[ ] stated that many of the Party leaders who went into hiding or underground are today looking back on that experience as a miserable, horrifying event. [ ] commented that he went into hiding for approximately five years, suffered economically and denied family attachment for what reason he could not justify as he reviews the case today. [ ] stated that many of the leaders who went into hiding received shabby treatment when they returned home or to open activity at the hands of the national leaders and as a result this started a great deal of disagreement, disunity and bad feeling. [ ] stated that he doubted very much if any of the Party leaders today would go into hiding or take active part in the underground because of the sad experience of this first episode.

[ ]  
[ ] advised the interviewing agents that he held no antagonism towards them, recognized that the Bureau agents had a job to do, and expressed appreciation for the manner in which he was contacted since it did not cause him any embarrassment.

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[ ] stated that he does not plan to make any open or public announcements of his resignation from the Party because he does not want publicity which would attract the Rightest Press who would want to interview him and carry [ ] comments in the Press. [ ] stated that such publicity as this he wants to shy away from because this would result in his being embarrassed in his present position and no doubt cause him to be separated or dismissed from his job as a draftsman.

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[ ] stated that it is his intention as well as that of his wife, [ ] who is aware of, and in agreement with, his present feeling to just "drift away" from Party activity and sometime in the Spring of 1957 move from the Bronx County to his summer home at the corner of Velie Road and Todd Hill Road in the vicinity of Lagrangeville, Dutchess County, New York. [ ] remarked that he and his wife purchased an old school house and have remodeled it into a residence which they have been using for the summer but is adaptable for all year around use.

[ ] stated he intends to seek a position as a draftsman in the Poughkeepsie area of New York after they move from the Bronx.

[ ] advised that his wife was aware of the fact that he was going to meet with the FBI agents and had no objections to this. She is aware that [ ] could not offer cooperation to this Bureau because of his religious background and principles.

[ ] advised that his wife, [ ] is still associating with the Communist movement in the Bronx County CP and intends to continue her activity up until the national convention in February, 1957 when she will drift away and become inactive.

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[ ] stated that he and his wife have many friends in the movement whom they are extremely fond of and intend to keep these friendships going even though they both become inactive in the Party.

[ ] in response to a query by the agents as to whether they could meet with both he and his wife to see if something could be worked out for continued discussions, remarked that he was sorry but he could see nothing such as this being agreeable to all parties concerned.

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#### EVALUATION

[ ] was cordial and somewhat friendly to the interviewing agents, was apparently pleased with the conduct of the interview but was firm in his refusal to grant the agents additional interviews to discuss CP activity. [ ] was willing to admit his past mistakes, criticized the leadership of the Party, but could not be influenced as of this time to give names or go into detail regarding CP, underground activity, hideouts or other material which would be valuable to this Bureau.

[ ] would not agree to keep any more appointments with the agents but consented to consider a meeting with the agents after the February CP convention. [ ] advised that he does not plan to attend the convention or even follow the convention discussions, however, he stated because of his many friends who are Party members and are in the movement plus his wife's associations, he no doubt will hear various discussions regarding the convention.

As a result of comments put to [ ] he agreed to think the matter over carefully and if in the event he should change his mind and agree to

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additional interviews he would call the agents at the New York Office. However, [ ] stated the possibility of further interviews, in his opinion, is remote; repeating again that he made a mistake and is willing to suffer the consequences of his stupidity even going to jail if the government decides to prosecute him.

[ ] advised the agents that he does not agree with the government's outlook regarding the CP, USA, remarking that he does not consider the Party a threat to the security of the United States. [ ] stated that in his opinion unless he is naive or has been taken in by Party leaders he could not see anybody within the CP, USA, that he was acquainted with, offering aid and comfort to the Soviet Union in an event of a world war between the United States and Russia. [ ] stated that if he now knew of anybody or any member who, in his opinion, would offer resistance to the United States Government in the event of a war with the Soviet Union, he would report their names to the agents. [ ] stated he knew no such people since he never heard anyone express such a feeling.

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[ ] impressed the interviewing agents as an educated man who was still a Marxist in theory but one no longer in agreement with the policy or line being followed by the CP, USA. [ ] impressed the agents as being somewhat naive since he appeared to be sincere in his remarks that nobody in the CP, USA would offer assistance to the Soviet Union to the detriment of this country.

[ ] also impressed the agents as feeling sorry for himself since he has made a stupid mistake for the past 27 years by being associated with the CP, USA, throwing away his educational talents and having to start life anew at the age of fifty.

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[ ] impressed the agents as trying to drift away from the Party without antagonizing Party friends or associates by refusing to openly denounce them.

[ ] is concerned about his present employment and does not want any derogatory publicity appearing in the newspapers regarding his past associations which would jeopardize his position.

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The New York Office intends to contact [ ] again prior to the CP convention to arrange an appointment if he is agreeable. Every effort will be made to develop [ ] if he affords the agents additional interview time.

The Bureau will be advised of developments.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

1/31/57

SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-11037)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - MEMBERSHIP:  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On 1/30/57, [redacted] advised that based on information made available through [redacted] and [redacted] a membership breakdown for the 1955 registration in the Communist Party of Connecticut reflects that the Communist Party of Connecticut registered 246 members in 1955.

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An analysis of the information made available by [redacted] on this date reflects that there are 151 men and 95 women registered. The information made available by this source also reflects that there are 214 white and 29 negroes registered. It is recognized that there is a discrepancy of three in totalling this latter group and at the present time, there is no information available which would account for this discrepancy.

The Bureau and New York will note that this information confirms data relating to membership in the CP of Connecticut which was made available by NY 1637-S\* on November 3 and 4, 1955.

In addition to the above, on January 30, 1957, [redacted] advised that the membership figure for the Communist Party of Connecticut for 1953 was 332 and for 1954, 320.

The membership figure of 246 also corroborates information made available by New York Confidential Informants. This information further corroborates information made available by NY 1317-S\* on September 9, 1955, concerning the 1954 membership figure of 320 and information made available by NY 1637-S\* on November 3 and 4, 1955, concerning the membership figure for the CP of Connecticut of 332 for the year 1953.

2 Bureau (RM)  
① New York (RM)  
3 New Haven  
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FBI - NEW HAVEN  
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J. Watson  
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## ESTIMATED COMRADELY PARTY MEMBERSHIP

As of December 31, 1956

The following figures are set out according to states and territories, field divisions and Communist Party districts:

## PHASE THREE: II. SEARCH & SEIZURES

Alabama	16	Massachusetts	354	S. Carolina	6
Arizona	75	Michigan	242	S. Dakota	41
Arkansas	0	Minnesota	190	Tennessee	13
California	2,965	Mississippi	0	Texas	66
Colorado	55	Missouri	110	Utah	34
Connecticut	246	Montana	25	Vermont	13
Delaware	14	Nebraska	9	Virginia	32
District of	156	Nevada	5	Washington	328
Columbia		New Hampshire	13	W. Virginia	11
Florida	48	New Jersey	730	Wisconsin	150
Georgia	4	New Mexico	16	Wyoming	0
Idaho	19	New York	8,734		
Illinois	945	N. Carolina	31	<u>Territories</u>	
Indiana	132	N. Dakota	43	Alaska	0
Iowa	12	Ohio	604	Hawaii	11
Kansas	2	Oklahoma	21	Puerto Rico	31
Kentucky	9	Oregon	82		
Louisiana	26	Pennsylvania	563		
Maine	12	Rhode Island	37		
Maryland	127			Total	17,360

## MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	173	Houston	17	Omaha	21
Albuquerque	16	Indianapolis	132	Philadelphia	443
Anchorage	0	Kansas City	10	Phoenix	25
Atlanta	3	Knoxville	5	Pittsburgh	131
Baltimore	141	Little Rock	0	Portland	82
Birmingham	8	Los Angeles	1,961	Richmond	11
Boston	416	Louisville	9	St. Louis	110
Buffalo	180	Memphis	8	Salt Lake City	41
Butte	44	Miami	48	San Antonio	11
Charlotte	34	Milwaukee	150	San Diego	66
Chicago	915	Minneapolis	274	San Francisco	938
Cincinnati	75	Mobile	8	San Juan	31
Cleveland	529	Newark	730	Savannah	4
Dallas	35	New Haven	246	Seattle	328
Denver	69	New Orleans	26	Springfield	32
Detroit	342	New York	8,394	WFO	156
El Paso	3	Norfolk	11		
Honolulu, T.H.	11	Oklahoma City	21		
				Total	17,760

Total 17,360

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DISTRICTS

<u>Total</u>		<u>States Included in Districts</u>	
District 1	429	Maine	12
		New Hampshire	13
		Massachusetts	356
		Vermont	13
		Rhode Island	37
District 2	8,734	New York	8,734
District 3	457	East. Pennsylvania	443
		Delaware	14
District 4	283	Maryland	127
		Dist. of Columbia	156
District 5	120	West. Pennsylvania	120
District 6	614	Ohio	606
		Kentucky	9
		Four Panhandle	1
		Counties in W. Virginia	
District 7	242	Michigan	242
District 8	1,007	Illinois	937
		Indiana (Lake Co.)	70
District 9	274	Minnesota	190
		N. Dakota	43
		S. Dakota	41
District 10	62	Indiana	62
District 11	82	Oregon	82
District 12	328	Washington	328
		Alaska	0
District 13	3,006	California	2,965
		Arizona	25
		Nevada	5
		Hawaii	11

It is noted that some states are covered by more than one CP District; therefore, a total compilation for the individual states is also being included in this memorandum.

# DISTRICTS (cont.)

District 14	730	New Jersey	730
District 15	246	Connecticut	246
District 18	150	Wisconsin	150
District 19	64	Colorado	65
		New Mexico	16
		Wyoming	0
		El Paso area of Texas	3
District 21	118	Missouri	110
		Illinois	8
District 22	10	West Virginia (less the four "Panhandle" Counties)	10
District 23	63	Texas except El Paso Area	63
District 24	26	Louisiana	26
District 25	48	Florida	48
District 26	22	Virginia	22
District 27	29	Alabama	16
		Mississippi	0
		Tennessee	13
District 28	21	Oklahoma	21
		Arkansas	0
District 29	37	N. Carolina	31
		S. Carolina	6
District 30	44	Montana	25
		Idaho	19
District 31	4	Georgia	4
District 32	23	Nebraska	9
		Iowa	15
		Kansas	9
District 35	36	Utah	36

TERRITORIES

Alaska <sup>2</sup>	0	0
Hawaii <sup>2</sup>	11	11
Puerto Rico	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>
	17,360	17,360

\*This figure is also computed in District 12.  
\*\*This figure is also computed in District 13.

NOTE:

Districts Number 16, 17, 20, 33, and 34  
have been previously reorganized and combined with  
other districts.

COMPARATIVE REGISTERED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES FIELD DIVISION

	<u>3/31/56</u>	<u>6/30/56</u>	<u>9/30/56</u>	<u>12/31/56</u>
Albany	191	191	191	173
Albuquerque	19	17	17	16
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	7	7	8	3
Baltimore	114	141	141	141
Birmingham	7	7	7	8
Boston	545	545	406	416*
Buffalo	206	192	192	180
Butte	70	52	47	44
Charlotte	47	47	39	34
Chicago	936	910	907	915
Cincinnati	73	79	78	75
Cleveland	506	529	529	529
Dallas	30	35	35	35
Denver	61	65	65	65
Detroit	701	751	757	742
El Paso	6	6	3	3
Honolulu, T.H.	12	12	12	11
Houston	29	35	19	17
Indianapolis	143	132	132	132
Kansas City	15	15	13	10
Knoxville	5	5	5	5
Little Rock	1	0	0	0
Los Angeles	1,870	1,887	1,925	1,961
Louisville	12	10	9	9
Memphis	6	6	8	8
Miami	48	48	48	48
Milwaukee	180	180	150	150
Minneapolis	265	268	272	274
Mobile	0	8	8	8
Newark	779	731	722	730
New Haven	227	202	200	246*
New Orleans	30	31	31	26
New York	10,618	8,432	8,432	8,394
Norfolk	12	12	14	11
Oklahoma City	21	21	21	21
Omaha	19	26	26	21
Philadelphia	521	443	443	443
Phoenix	25	25	25	25
Pittsburgh	247	147	146	131
Portland	80	80	80	82
Richmond	13	13	11	11
St. Louis	110	110	110	110
Salt Lake City	40	38	40	41
San Antonio	15	15	13	11

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (cont.)

	<u>3/31/56</u>	<u>6/30/56</u>	<u>9/30/56</u>	<u>12/31/56</u>
San Diego	64	60	67	66
San Francisco	958	955	968	938
San Juan	37	37	37	31
Savannah	5	4	4	4
Seattle	328	328	329	328
Springfield	27	29	29	22
WFO	<u>156</u>	<u>156</u>	<u>156</u>	<u>156</u>
TOTALS	19,906	17,573	17,503	17,360

\*This indicates significant fluctuation in membership.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: January 24, 1957

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

There are being furnished herewith two copies of a chart showing the estimated Communist Party membership as of December 31, 1956, by states and territories, by field divisions and Communist Party districts, as well as comparative estimated membership figures by field divisions for the past four quarterly periods.

This data is being furnished for the information of the New York Office and should not be incorporated in any reports prepared by your office.

Enclosures (2)

1 cc in 100-128817 (CP USA - District 2 - Membership)

100-80638-1166

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 24 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. V. Waters gva

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

To: SAC, New York (100-85684) Date: February 4, 1957

From: SAC, Detroit (100-17106)

Subject: OSCAR RODES, was.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on August 15, 1956, SAUL WELLMAN had in his possession material pertaining to the Communist Party. Contained in this material was the following one-page handwritten note:

"Our proposal concerning Nick and Peg was that they remain in Cleveland, that he be assigned to the shop club in his shop, and that she be assigned to a community club.

"We said, however, that if, as rank and file members, they chose to move elsewhere, we could not stop it, but would of course judge them according to their conduct.

- ④ - New York (REGISTERED)
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
  - 1 - 100- CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
- 5 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
- 1 - 100-22158 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100- HYMAN LUMER (Encl)
  - 1 - 100- CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
  - 1 - 100- [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-19665 [redacted]
- 5 - Detroit
- 1 - 100-15793 (SAUL WELLMAN)
  - 1 - 100-18832 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-18769 (HYMAN LUMER)
  - 1 - 100-21806 [redacted]

RRNR/lh  
(14)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

*Notes*

100-80638-1167  
ask ask  
14  
*Waters JWA*  
#19

DE 100-17106

"Their decision was that they intended to move to Detroit at the end of the year. I told them that when they moved, they would be handled as ordinary transfers, with a characterization, etc.

"This is where the matter was left, so far as we understand it.

/s/ "Hy"

The above information is being furnished to the New York Office inasmuch as [redacted] and his wife, [redacted] formerly resided in Cleveland under the names [redacted] and [redacted] and, therefore, could possibly be identical with the [redacted] and [redacted] referred to in the above note.

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A copy of the above note is being furnished to the Cleveland Office for its information inasmuch as it may be possible that the person signing the above note "Hy" may be identical with HYMAN LUMER. It is, therefore, suggested that the Cleveland Office consider submitting the attached copy of the above note to the Laboratory for comparison with known handwriting specimens of HYMAN LUMER if available.

A copy of the above information is maintained in Detroit file 100-15793-1B4-6.

Extreme care should be used in disseminating any of the above information so that the identity of the Informant will be fully protected.



ATKEL

2/6/57

AIR MAIL REGISTERED

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-10799)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

CP USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C  
CINAL

[redacted] and [redacted] reliable, on 1/31/57, advised that at meeting of San Diego County Central Committee on 1/30/57, a transfer form concerning an individual from New York, N.Y., set out the following information:

Date	9/20/56
To	San Diego, Calif.
Name	[redacted]
Address	[redacted]
Introduction	[redacted]
Remarks	OK

Reverse: (In handwriting)

To Cal  
Fr (or Tr)  
No 11/1/56"

This info furnished in view of possibility that this is new system of transferring CP members.  
[redacted] residence, [redacted] verified.

HAYMON

- 3 - Director, FBI (AM REGISTERED)
- 2 - New York (AM REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Diego

IVS:mas  
(6)

100-10799-2

100-10799-2

Waters J/W

b6  
b7C  
b7D

1169

February 8, 1957

AIRTEL

SAC, New York (100-80638)

CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP, DISTRICT #2, IS - C.

As you are well aware, the CP, USA, National Convention will take place February 9 - 12, 1957. At that time there will be numerous New York delegates present at the convention who will represent most of the CP sections in the New York area.

This presents an excellent opportunity to obtain much needed information relative to the current intensified membership program in effect in your office at this time. Following the identification of the delegates it should be the responsibility of each squad covering CP sections and clubs to thereafter closely follow the activities of these delegates. It can be expected that immediately following the convention section and club meetings will be called to allow the delegates an opportunity to give their reports.

These meetings should be covered as one of the best potential sources for information of the kind needed to establish the Party's organizational structure and identity of all of its members in the New York area.

At the time you submit the next bimonthly letter due March 10, 1957, regarding CP membership, New York Division, in accordance with Bulet of June 27, 1956, captioned as above, it is desired that specific comment be made as to the scope of coverage given to the New York delegates and the subsequent section and club meetings as well as the positive results such coverage realized.

Hoover

100-3-68

100-80638-1169

*J. V. Waters*

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
FEB 19 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

*only 100-128817*

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-1763) DATE: 2/11/57

FROM: SA CLAUDE E. WILLIS, JR.

SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT 13  
IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity should be protected.	Combined CP conference, LACCP, 1/24/57.	2/5/57	Writer	[redacted]

Informant furnished the following quoted written report:

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"Date: January 24, 1957  
Function: Combined Communist Party Conference  
Los Angeles County Communist Party  
Place: 2840 Delaware Avenue, Santa Monica, California

"On Monday, January 21, 1957, [redacted] indicated that the regular meeting of the Community Club, formerly known as the West Adams Club, which was later combined with other

cc: [redacted] 6 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED)  
(NEGRO QUESTION) (FACTIONALISM)  
(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
(MEMBERSHIP) (ORGANIZATION)

100-39681 (C. LIGHTFOOT)  
100-18758 (MORANDA SMITH DIV.)  
100-24345 (NEGRO QUESTION)  
100-24352 (FACTIONALISM)  
100-26044 (ORGANIZATION)  
100-23933 (MEMBERSHIP)  
100-24349 (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
100-23700 [redacted] (SI)  
100-31055 [redacted] (SI)  
100-29391 [redacted] (SI)  
100-31954 [redacted] (SI)  
100-7541 [redacted]  
100-22223 [redacted]

2 - CHICAGO (REGISTERED)  
(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (FACTIONALISM)  
1 - PHILADELPHIA (REGISTERED)  
(FACTIONALISM)

CEW:RRD  
(24)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 11 1957	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

READ BY [signature]

FEB 16 1957

FBI - NEW YORK

100-80638-1170

LA 100-1763

Communist Party Clubs, would be held on January 24, 1957, at the residence of [redacted] Los Angeles, California.

"At about 8:00 pm on January 24, 1957, [redacted] arrived at [redacted] residence and told [redacted] and [redacted] that instead of having the regular Communist Party Club meeting, that the group would go to Santa Monica, California, where [redacted] who is a member of the State Board of the Communist Party of New York, was going to give a talk.

"The three individuals then proceeded to 2840 Delaware Avenue in Santa Monica, arriving at about 9:00 p.m. The meeting was already in progress when the group arrived.

"Those present were:



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"At about 9:00 about 12 persons were present, but a few more individuals came in after that time.

"The meeting lasted until about 11:05 p.m.

"This meeting was believed to be a closed meeting of Communist Party members, and the persons present frequently referred to others as 'comrades.'

[redacted] of the State Board of the Communist Party of New York, stated that comrades in New York were very much concerned over the fact that there are very few young people in the Party, and that the average age of the Party members there is 42.

"One of the fellows at the meeting asked [redacted] if he had come as a delegate from the New York State Convention to the California State Convention and he replied, 'yes.' He said they were supposed to send three representatives to the convention in California. He said they also were inviting different representatives to come to the New York State Convention. Two from New York were unable to make it to California - one was sick, and the reason for the other's

LA 100-1763

absence was unknown; so he, [redacted] was the only one who came. He stated that he did not speak at this meeting as a representative, however. He mostly gave his thoughts as to what was happening in the New York Communist Party. He said that about 80 per cent of the New York membership have quit the Party in the last two years, and there are two factions in the Party headed by the National Secretary, GENE DENNIS, and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, National Chairman. He said the Communist Party is sharply divided. Some delegates are lining up behind FOSTER, and some are lining up behind DENNIS for the National Convention. The State of California is not exactly behind FOSTER, nor is it behind DENNIS - it is taking the middle road. [redacted] is a follower of DENNIS, and the DENNIS followers do not want to continue the Party as it is. The majority of the New York State, however, is behind FOSTER. [redacted] said that he attended the Harlem Convention, and for a while the Harlem group had some of the top people on the National Committee. He said for a white man to speak at the Harlem Convention he had to be a hero. The Negroes are on the verge of breaking from the Party completely and setting up a Negro Communist Party for Negroes only. He said that some woman got up and made a talk, saying that the Party should have been taking the lead in the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama and also on the segregation issue. The Harlem Convention criticized the Party for not doing more about that situation. The leaders had not done what they were supposed to do. The whole Harlem Convention was against DENNIS. [redacted] spoke in behalf of DENNIS, but they still did not support [redacted]. [redacted] said that what the Negroes want is their question first and the Party built around their question, something that [redacted] did not agree with.

[redacted] said that the strongest faction in New York State appears to be the FOSTER Faction. [redacted] said that one of the other Committee men told him that he better 'come over to our side,' that the other side will be wiped out completely. He said FOSTER has strong forces in Philadelphia and Illinois. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stands alone in Illinois because he supports DENNIS. California is more in the middle of the road. JOHN GATES, the editor of the 'Daily Worker' in New York has received unfavorable mail from some old-time comrades. They call him a Fascist, that he should 'go hang himself,' jump off a cliff, etc. All of the bad mail is from the old comrades who have been in the Party for a number of years. GATES has been supporting DENNIS. GATES did not agree with the Red Army going to Hungary and taking over the Hungarian State.

LA 100-1763

[ ] stated that the New York State Convention wanted to invite representatives from all parts of the country who would be delegates from other state conventions, to come and sit in on the New York State Convention so that those delegates could give the New York State Convention their ideas and could also benefit from the ideas of the State Convention. The friction in New York is pretty great, and the Party in New York is on the verge of a split. [ ] does not think that FOSTER's side is going to change. [ ] said that when the California delegates come down to the main point, then there will be friction here too. [ ] asked [ ] if [ ] had spoken with the Negro comrades in the Los Angeles area, and he replied that he had not done so. He had been too busy.

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[ ] said he was leaving on Friday, January 25, 1957, for New York. Twenty or twenty-five people then came into the house where the meeting had been held at about 11:00 p.m., and those who had been in were requested to leave so that the new group could hear [ ]. Then some of the group left, and [ ] and [ ] returned to the vicinity of [ ] house, and then each left to go to his own home.

"The next meeting of our Community Club will be held Thursday, January 31, 1957, at [ ] house."

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

SAC, New York (100-24638)

2/21/57

TOLLEF JACOBSON, JR., SA

ABNER WINSTON BERRY, was.;  
IS - C.

The following information from subject's file is being set forth for the information of any Agent who may be conducting investigation in the vicinity of subject's residence or employment pursuant to recent Bureau instructions concerning efforts to identify CP members, CP clubs, etc. Subject is a Key Figure and recently attended the national CP Convention, as a delegate.

Subject BERRY, who was born 6/12/02 at Beaumont, Texas, a Negro; currently resides in Apartment 4E at 800 Riverside Drive, NYC.

He is Negro Affairs Editor of the "Daily Worker". Articles bearing his by-line appear frequently in the DW and "The Worker".

He is described as having held official positions in the CP in various parts of the country, having joined the Party in 1929.

According to [redacted] BERRY also attended the Jan., 1957, convention of the N.Y. State CP, at which time he spoke from the floor in favor of the draft resolution and in favor of the GATES position. This informant stated that at the State convention, BERRY received 241 votes for the position of delegate to the National Convention, which ranked him fourth, in number of votes received, out of a slate of 46 nominees (16 of whom were elected as delegates).

Various sources have indicated that BERRY was in attendance at the recent CPUSA National Convention.

Subject's wife, [redacted] (100-80569), and [redacted] (100-94013), both Security Index subjects, also reside in the BERRY apartment, #4E, at 800 Riverside Drive.

The above information is being brought to the attention of Section 12-16, in view of BERRY's residence in that area.

TJ  
(3)

- 1- CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP, [redacted] (100-80638) DIA/24047-80638-1171  
1- CP, NY, MEMBERSHIP, [redacted] (100-128812) LEB 51 4 52 BN RT Jue

*[Handwritten signature: J. Waters]*

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F B I

Date: 3/4/57

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-4)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT # 2,  
Bronx County CP,  
IS - C

On 2/28/57, [redacted] Central Plaza Hall, 111 Second Ave., NYC, advised SA HARLAN C. FLINNER that the Bronx Painters had reserved a room for a meeting scheduled to be held on 3/1/57, at about 7:30 p.m. at the Central Plaza Annex, 40 East Seventh St., NYC. (Identity of [redacted] should be concealed.)

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NY 1973-S\*, who is in a position to furnish reliable information, made available to SAS [redacted] and [redacted] on 3/1/57, information concerning this meeting which was scheduled to be held under the name of the Bronx Painters. All of the information in this airtel concerning this meeting was furnished by NY 1973-S\* on 3/1/57. In the event any of this information is used in a report it should be suitably paraphrased to fully protect the identity of the source. Information appearing in parenthesis are observations of agent.

3-Bureau (100-3-4)(RM)  
1-New York (100-26603) (NYS, CP) (12-8)  
1-New York (100-26603-Sub 76) (NY 1973-S\*) (20-10)  
1-New York (100-26603-C-954) (Bronx Painters Club) (20-10)  
1-New York (100-26603-C-1905) (NYS, CP, Industrial Division) (12-8)  
1-New York (100-130551) (Bronx Painters) (20-10)  
1-New York (100-26603-C-New) (NYS, CP, Building Trades Region) (12-8)  
1-New York (100-128809) (NYS, CP-Strategy in Industry) (12-8)  
1-New York (100-128814) (NYS, CP-Organization) (12-8)  
1-New York (100-128817) (NYS, CP-Membership) (12-8)  
1-New York (100-128821) (NYS, CP-Factionalism) (12-8)  
1-New York 100-26603-C40

JCH:mam  
(39)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

100-80638-1172

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAR 4 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Per [signature]



NY 100-26603-C40

COPIES (CONT'D)

1-New York (100-89590)	(CP, USA-Strategy in Industry)
1-New York (100-80641)	(CP, USA-Organization)
1-New York (100-80638)	(CP, USA-Membership)
1-New York (100-87211)	(CP, USA-Factionalism)
1-New York (100- )	(AL (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(BOB (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(BILL (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(CY (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(DAVE (LNU) mentioned at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(EDDIE (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(FRITZ (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(GUS (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(HARRY (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(JIM (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(JOE (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(LOU (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(MANNY (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(MIKE (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(MORRIS (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, delegate to National Convention, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(RISEY or RAWSEY (PH) (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, delegate to National Convention, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(ROSE (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, Chairman of meeting, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(SAM (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(SAUL (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)
1-New York (100- )	(TOY (PH) (LNU) present at CP meeting 3/1/57, per NY 1973-S*)

I. IDENTITY OF GROUP HOLDING THE MEETING

The following statements concerning the possible identity of the group were made at this meeting:

"If you are the Bronx Painters, why don't you meet in the Bronx?" This remark was followed by laughter.

One of the purposes of this meeting was stated as, "To arrange for another meeting of our s.o.'s." (Probably section organizers)

"We in the Industrial Division of New York State."

"A region of our size."

"It is important that we get out s.o.'s and org. sec.'s to a meeting as soon as possible." (Probably section organizers and organizational secretaries)

"If we in the building trades."

"I understand that the Industrial Division has already had its meeting."

From the above statements it appears that this meeting possibly was not a meeting of the Bronx Painters Club of the CP, but rather a regional meeting of the Building Trades Region of the Industrial Division of the CP and that section organizers and others from the various sections of the Building Trades Region were in attendance.

II. AGENDA OF MEETING

The agenda of this meeting was outlined as follows:

1. Presentation of a report on the National Convention by MORRIS (LNU), a delegate to the National Convention.

NY 100-26603-C40

2. Distribution to members present of some resolutions which were to be brought to the meeting by DAVE (LNU), who was still at school and who would come to the meeting after he finished school.

3. "To arrange for another meeting of our s.o.'s" (Probably section organizers)

The information as furnished by the informant reflected that this meeting convened at 8:00 p.m., 3/1/57, and adjourned at 11:00 p.m., 3/1/57.

### III. REPORT ON THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

MORRIS (LNU) made the following report on the CP National Convention, which he attended:

#### Composition of Convention

The Convention consisted of 298 delegates and 165 guests. There were 209 male delegates and (89) female delegates.

#### Composition of Convention - Age Groups

The ages of individuals at the Convention were listed as follows:

Age 18 to 25	- 5 people
26 to 35	- 39
36 to 45	- 106
46 to 55	- 90
56 to 65	- 14
Over 65	- 5
4 individuals did not give their age.	

#### Composition of the Convention - Length of time in Party

The length of time in the Party for the delegates was listed as follows:

NY 100-26603-C40

Years in Party 5 or under	- 6 delegates
6 to 10	- 30
11 to 15	- 29
16 to 20	- 65
21 to 25	- 85
Over 25 years	- 72

Composition of the Convention - Position in Party

The position in the Party for the delegates was listed as follows:

55 - State leaders	3 - Farmers	10 - Community
37 - County leaders	80 - Trade Unionists	5 - Jewish world
24 - Section leaders	34 - in Negro work	50 - Smith Act victims
15 - Club leaders	2 - in Mexican work	
2 - Regional leaders	17 - PTA	
5 - Youth leaders	? - Students	

Concerning the representation at the National Convention, MORRIS (LNU) stated, "All of the other organizations in the 23 other states represent organizations which are completely down to the hard core." and that, "Of the 140 delegates that the New York delegation had, 43 came directly from the Industrial Division. Outside of these 43, there were approximately 40 more who came from community organizations, but who are working class elements."

Organization of Convention Committees

The following committees were organized at the National Convention:

1. Resolutions committee - subdivided into 6 additional committees
  - a. international problems
  - b. trade unions
  - c. Negro rights
  - d. road ahead in the transition to Socialism

NY 100-26603-C40

- e. committee on the Party - deal with section 4 of the Draft Resolution
- f. miscellaneous matters
- 2. Constitution committee - subdivided into 4 additional committees
  - a. name and form
  - b. democratic centralism
  - c. preamble committee
  - d. structure of the Party
- 3. Press committee - deal with the "Daily Worker"
- 4. Civil Liberties
- 5. Credentials committee
- 6. Rules Committee
- 7. Leadership of the Party
- 8. Planning for the future

Concerning the above committees, MORRIS (LNU) stated that, "We of the Industrial Division of New York State were represented on most of these committees. On some committees we had as many as 7 or 8. On the trade union resolutions committee we had 8 people." He added, "Now on these committees the men's ages consisted of those above 40 years."

#### Issues raised at the Convention

The major resolutions and issues raised at the National Convention were outlined by MORRIS (LNU), as follows:

- 1. "On the problem of change of name and form the Draft Resolution tried to find the center position. The resolution coming from the resolutions committee substantially agreed with the Draft Resolution on this question. There was sharp debate and final agreement by majority vote on this. The question of name and form was not to be foreclosed and many of those who voted for this resolution were voting for unity."

2. "The second issue was concerning the greetings received from the French CP signed by Comrade DUCLOS. The vast majority of Comrades felt that this was a form of interference by the French CP."

3. "There was some sharp debate on the question of the nature of the errors of the Party."

4. "The resolution on the American road to Socialism, which developed the thesis that all countries would find their own road to Socialism met with overwhelming support of the majority of the delegates."

5. "The resolution dealing with the anti-monopoly coalition did not come to a vote. However, the action of the delegates indicated delegate approval of the main direction of this resolution making the anti-monopoly coalition the main strategic aim of our Party in the coming period."

6. "Another resolution that got a solid majority after sharp debate was the declaration that the Party is an independent organization and will interpret conditions according to American traditions."

7. "The Hungarian problem resolution was not dealt with due to the fact that the Convention felt that the problems on the American scene were more pressing and important."

8. According to MORRIS (LNU), the Convention highlight was the fact that the election of the National Committee took all night and the comparatively low number of votes that the Party leaders received.

#### Move of CP Headquarters to Chicago

MORRIS (LNU) stated that the New York Comrades were extremely happy over the resolution to ask the National Leadership to move to Chicago due to Chicago being the industrial heartland. He added that the New York Comrades announced that they would help to raise money for the move.

He added that for New York it would be good to live without the National Committee upstairs. He explained, "You know you have steam pipes from the seventh floor and the National Committee to the sixth floor and the State Committee. There is a hole in the steam pipe and you listen in and while the National Committee is discussing, the State Committee is twiddling its thumbs waiting. In other words there is no independence of thought or action developed in the New York State leadership because of the fact that for many years they were tied closely to the National leadership."

#### IV. MEMBERSHIP

Concerning CP, USA membership, MORRIS (LNU) stated, "We are now a Party of 20,000 members." He added that, "Two major sections of the Party are New York, which is the largest, and California, which is the second largest."

Concerning New York State CP membership, MORRIS (LNU) stated, "Whereas we still do reflect an organization of at least 10,000 members in New York State."

Concerning the membership of the region of the Party holding this meeting (believed to be the Building Trades Region of the Industrial Division ) MORRIS (LNU) stated, "That a region of our size, I think about 120 to 125 members."

#### V. ORGANIZATION

MORRIS (LNU) stated that, "the State has the right to recall those elected to the National Committee. This is an organizational change that guarantees a closer relationship with the rank and file."

#### VI. FACTIONALISM

MORRIS (LNU) stated that, "The sharpest debate in the last 25 years took place at the Convention."

NY 100-26603-C40

He added that the New York State delegation was the only one at the Convention that was sharply divided. He stated that, "the New York State delegation came to the Convention not on speaking terms, with 70 delegates on one side and 70 on the other side." Several other speakers indicated that if the National leadership were eliminated from the discussion, there would be no factionalism.

VII. IDENTITY OF INDIVIDUALS IN ATTENDANCE

MORRIS (LNU) stated, "It is an indication of the lack of interest that we have in attendance less than 20, one-sixth of the total membership of our region to discuss the important problems of our Party."

The information as furnished by the informant reflected that the following individuals were in attendance:

1. AL (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
2. BILL (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
3. BOB (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
4. CY (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion. Slight British accent.
5. DAVE (LNU) - mentioned as coming to the meeting after he finishes school. He was to have distributed some resolutions.
6. EDDIE (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.



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7. FRITZ (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
8. GUS (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
9. HARRY (LNU) - present at the meeting.  
Husband of ROSE (LNU).
10. JIM (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
11. JOE (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
12. LOU (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
13. MANNY (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
14. MIKE (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
15. MORRIS (LNU) - present at the meeting; was delegate to the National Convention. At this meeting MORRIS (LNU) stated, "I not only have a record of my position at the State Committee but I have a record in the PV." (It is noted that the reference to PV may have been TV)
16. RISEY or RAWSEY (PH) (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion; mentioned as having attended the National Convention.

17. ROSE (LNU) - present at the meeting and acted as unofficial Chairman.
18. SAM (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
19. SAUL (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.
20. TOY (PH) (LNU) - present at the meeting and took part in the discussion.

In connection with coverage given to this meeting by the NYO, individual photographs were taken from a photo plant maintained on the premises and in addition physical surveillances were conducted in an effort to further identify those individuals in attendance. It is believed that most of the individuals in attendance will be identified in the very near future.

#### VIII. SCHEDULING OF ADDITIONAL MEETING

At this meeting, ROSE (LNU), who acted as unofficial Chairman, stated, "It is important that we get our s.o.'s and org. sec.'s to a meeting as soon as possible." She added that, "I would recommend that within a week, if possible, that we get our s.o.'s and org. sec.'s together."

An unknown male stated, "I make a motion that the section organizers take this up after this meeting."

ROSE (LNU) stated, "All s.o.'s up front please."

In the ensuing confusion the informant thought he heard 3/11/57, mentioned as a possible meeting date.

The NYO will endeavor to determine the date of the next meeting of this group and provide it with full coverage.

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

\*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99) DATE: 3/4/57  
ATTENTION: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR A. H. BELMONT

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25880)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - ~~TOPLEV~~  
IS - C

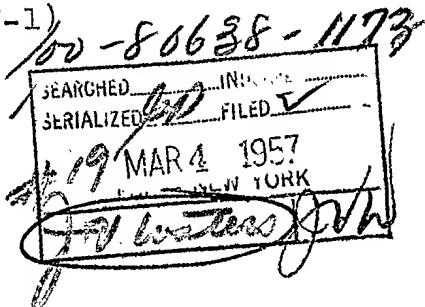
DONALD MAC KENZIE LESTER, wa  
IS - C; ISA - 1950

ReNYlet, 1/31/57 and NYairtels, 2/14 and 15/57.

13 - Bureau (100-3-99) (RM)  
    (1 - 100-165944) (DONALD M. LESTER)  
    (1 - 100-3-88) (CP, USA - FACTIONALISM)  
    (1 - 100-3-68) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)  
    (1 - 100-55618) (JOHN GATES)  
    (1 - 61-330) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)  
    (1 - 100-3) (CP, USA)  
    (1 - 100-3-69) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) 101  
    (1 - 100-15877) (EUGENE DENNIS)  
    (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
    (1 - 100- ) (DAILY WORKER)  
    (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED] (7-4)  
1 - New York (100-63578) [REDACTED] (20-10)  
1 - New York (100-87211) (CP, USA-- FACTIONALISM) (19)  
① - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (19)  
1 - New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (19)  
1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (12-10)  
1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (19)  
1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (19)  
1 - New York (100-26603) (CP, USA - DISTRICT #2, NEW YORK DIVISION) (12-1)  
    New York Division) (12-8)  
1 - New York (100-86624) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (19)  
1 - New York (100-24148) (JOHN GATES) (12-8)  
1 - New York (100-52959) [REDACTED] (12-8)  
1 - New York (97-169) (DAILY WORKER) (7-2)  
1 - New York (100-73516) [REDACTED] (7-1)  
1 - New York (100-25880) (20-10)

EWB:aja  
(28)



NY 100-25880

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At the time LESTER was interviewed on 1/10/57,  
SAS EDWARD W. BUCKLEY and CHESTER A. REILLY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] The agents advised LESTER  
on 1/10/57 that they would contact him prior to the CP  
Convention and arrange an appointment if he is agreeable  
to hold the conversation after the CP Convention.

[REDACTED]

SA BUCKLEY telephonically contacted LESTER on  
2/8/57 and was cordially greeted. After exchange of  
greetings LESTER was asked if he would keep an appoint-  
ment with the agents to which he agreed and a date was  
made for the evening of 2/13/57.

SAS REILLY and BUCKLEY met LESTER on the  
evening of 2/13/57 after he departed from work and  
after a cordial exchange of greetings the agents  
accompanied LESTER to a restaurant in the Hotel Com-  
modore, where an interview took place under secure  
conditions. At the outset, LESTER advised the agents  
that he had given serious thought to the previous  
conversation and commented that he appreciated the  
manner in which the contacts had been made thus far  
and decided to meet with the agents again.

CP, USA CONVENTION

LESTER advised that the full results of the CP,  
USA Convention have not come to his attention as yet  
but from information he received from a NY State CP  
Board member (whose name LESTER did not reveal and he was  
not pressed for the name at this time) he gathered  
that the JOHNNY GATES group met with little success  
and that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER had things pretty much his  
own way and from an overall viewpoint met with success.

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LESTER stated that in his opinion time will prove that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, the old strategist, had things resolved in his favor at the convention and as a result was responsible for getting a majority of his (FOSTER's) supporters on the National Board of the CP, USA. LESTER stated that from the review of the names appearing in the local press, he would say that FOSTER was in control of the 11 member Administrative Board of the CP, USA. LESTER stated that he did not want to mention the names of FOSTER's supporters until he could review the CP Convention from Party publications plus conversations he will have with Party people who attended the convention.

LESTER stated that GATES was elected to the National Board and in his opinion even received some support from FOSTER. However, LESTER stated that any policy or legislation that FOSTER desires to put into effect will be approved even though GATES may not agree with the material. LESTER stated that the FOSTER group on both the CP National Board plus FOSTER's control of the Administrative Committee of the National Board will override any objection GATES may bring up and will defeat or "pigeon hole" any suggestions or amendments that GATES will want introduced which would be acceptable to the GATES group in the CP, USA.

LESTER said that even though the local newspapers in NYC carried articles which indicated GATES met with some success in the convention, he, as a Marxist, could not accept this conclusion and he thought GATES met with little or no success at the convention.

LESTER stated that this friend, the member of the CP, USA New York State Board who communicated with him over the phone during the weekend of 2/10/57, remarked that some of the NY State Board members were so disgusted with the way the convention was going at the time of the phone call that in all probability half the NY State Board members would be "drifting away" from the CP in 2 or 3 months time. LESTER advised that his friend, who is a

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member of the NY State Board, was a GATES supporter. LESTER advised that his friend remarked that FOSTER was accomplishing all that he had planned at the CP Convention.

When questioned concerning the word "interpret" being amended to the wording of the CP, USA draft resolution, LESTER remarked that this meant very little and ~~his~~ his opinion was practically no change at all to the draft resolution. LESTER stated that FOSTER agreed to the word "interpret" being introduced into the draft resolution by the GATES group after putting up a front that he, FOSTER, objected to this. In LESTER's opinion, FOSTER had decided no doubt that in certain places he would have to give a little leeway to the GATES group in order to make them think they were meeting with some success.

The real reason for FOSTER allowing the GATES group to insert the word "interpret" into the draft resolution was to pacify and prevent JOHNNY GATES group from causing an open split at the convention. LESTER stated that FOSTER was afraid of an open split which would hinder his, FOSTER's, overall control. LESTER stated that in his opinion FOSTER is the smartest strategist that ever directed the CP, USA and from his long experience was aware that if he gave in a little to the GATES group he would keep unity in the ranks and still maintain control.

LESTER stated that FOSTER can criticize any other member or top leader of the CP, USA but because of his long standing as a leader in the CP, USA he is "untouchable." LESTER stated that no one dare openly, especially on the floor of a convention, criticize FOSTER. LESTER stated that all the leaders of the Party are aware of the fact that they can not openly criticize FOSTER because to do so would mean the individual's own downfall. LESTER stated that since FOSTER has dedicated his life to the Party, he can champion his self-sacrifice before the convention crowd if he were directly under attack and as a result would win the

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full support of the delegates plus the rank and file since everyone recognized that FOSTER has dedicated his life to the CP cause.

LESTER stated that the CP, USA is today in a different time ~~era~~ compared to years ago, around 1917 when the Russian Revolution took place. LESTER explained that the old time CP leaders who are still around today and who were successful back in the early 1920's and mid 1930's in organizing and recruiting members into the Party from basic industry, the farm area and the city slums, had the depression and/or surpression of the laboring man in their favor. Today these old time CP leaders like FOSTER and many others do not want to face the fact that the Party will never again have such favorable conditions to recruit the Ame ican worker into the Party.

LESTER stated that the old time CP leaders in this country do not want to face up to the fact that the American labor group has been ~~elevated~~ to a higher living standard they any where else in the world. LESTER stated that the Party has lost out in organized labor, that the labor unions today are not in favor of the CP, USA and have openly denounced the Party. The laboring man is being educated today that CP, USA is against the best interest of the American worker.

LESTER stated that the Party leaders who in his opinion were responsible for first organizing the American labor class movement by giving them direction and supporting strikes, lost their chance to control American labor because the labor movement put their own workers into leadership positions and ousting the Com. inists. However, the old line Communist leaders are still in a "dream world" thinking that the day will again come when a depression will hit this country and the American worker will be "easy bait" for recruiting into the CP.

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LESTER stated that in his opinion there is no really proletarian group of people existing in the US today and therefore the theme of the Party, "The Proletarian Revolution", would not apply in this country today.

LESTER stated that when the Party was at the peak of its success in the mid 1930's and early 1940's, their membership was 80,000 or thereabout but today this number has been reduced to about 15,000. LESTER stated that the 80,000 who were members of the Party at that time were Marxists and Socialists at heart and joined the Party because it had some form of attraction from the standpoint that it would champion Socialistic causes.

LESTER stated that in the mid 1930's and early 1940's the CP, USA could raise a large amount of money both from the rank and file and from sympathizers. However, the financial position of the CP, USA today is in a sad condition and there is little or no money to support the Party. LESTER stated that in his opinion the paid functionaries of the CP, USA on a national, state and local level will number no more than 15 people. LESTER stated therefore some national and state leaders will have to go out and support themselves by finding other work. LESTER stated that the only paid CP county functionary is

[redacted] LESTER stated the only reason LOMAN is maintained on the payroll is due to the fact that he is so stupid he could not get a job elsewhere.

LESTER stated that [redacted] is nothing more than a "yes man" for the FOSTER group and for this reason he was made a member of the National Board as well as the Administrative Board, of the CP, USA.

LESTER stated that in all the years that he was active as a leader in the CP he never knew of the Soviet Union rendering any form of financial aid to the CP, USA. LESTER commented that if the Soviets did give financial aid to the Party he was not aware of it.



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In regard to the CP, USA Convention, LESTER stated that in his opinion the real issue between the FOSTER group and the GATES group was not debated at all. He stated that the real issue in his opinion was the Soviet Union's influence upon the CP, USA. LESTER stated that he believes from the little information he has received at the time of this interview that the Party will continue to operate "at the same old stand." LESTER stated that the substituting of the word "interpret" in the draft resolution will still be reviewed by the Administrative Committee in giving an interpretation on policy matters and since the FOSTER group is in control of the Administrative Committee the interpretation of any policy will still be favorable to the Soviet Union.

CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

LESTER stated that he received information from [redacted] who received a phone call from LIL GATES several days prior to the CP Convention, advising that some important public announcement would be made before the convention. LESTER stated that apparently there was a leak regarding the announcement of the [redacted] letter to the CP, USA Convention.

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LESTER stated that in his opinion and in the opinion of others with whom he has talked FOSTER was responsible for the [redacted] letter. LESTER stated that it was grapevine gossip among the leaders of the Party that FOSTER requested some form of aid from the Soviet Union supporting his stand at the CP, USA National Convention against the GATES group. LESTER stated that no doubt the Soviets directed [redacted] to send his letter to the CP, USA supporting FOSTER and citing GATES as the wrongdoer.

LESTER stated that FOSTER did the same thing to EARL BROWDER in 1945, when FOSTER asked aid from the Soviets and they in turn had the French Communist leader, [redacted] write a letter denouncing BROWDER's policy. LESTER stated, however, that the successful effect that the [redacted] letter had in 1945, resulting in BROWDER's ousting as a CP, USA leader, was missing this time,

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remarking that the [ ] letter supporting FOSTER did not come as a big surprise to the CP, USA membership.

LESTER remarked that the rank and file and the CP leaders were expecting the same, knowing that FOSTER, the strategist, would seek outside aid. LESTER expressed the opinion that no doubt the Soviet Union is interested in keeping FOSTER as the leader of the CP, USA. Other than the [ ] letter he did not know of any other aid that the Soviets may have rendered FOSTER. LESTER had no knowledge regarding any international representative being present at the CP, USA Convention.

#### DAILY WORKER

LESTER advised that he had information that a decision had been reached at a National Committee meeting prior to the CP, USA Convention to introduce a resolution at the convention to disband the publication of the "Daily Worker" newspaper. LESTER stated that since no resolution was introduced to abolish the "Daily Worker" apparently the National Committee could not get a "volunteer" to introduce such an unfavorable resolution at the convention.

LESTER stated that any top official who introduced this unpopular resolution would be immediately criticized and stigmatized by the rank and file members as the CP leader who was responsible for the folding up of the Party newspaper. LESTER stated that the "Daily Worker" has a soft spot in the hearts of the membership and even though they know there is no money to support the paper still no one wants to take the initiative to have the paper fold up.

#### SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

LESTER stated that he was shocked and concerned when he learned of the wave of anti-semitism within the Soviet Union. LESTER advised that he heard comments made by [ ], the National Manager of the

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"Morning Freiheit", concerning anti-semitism in the Soviet Union. LESTER stated that [ ] visited the Soviet Union after the 20th Congress of the CPSU. LESTER stated that [ ] remarked that he was also shocked upon observing the lack of Jewish culture within the Soviet Union.

[ ] reported that there are practically no Yiddish publications and investigated why this was so in the Soviet Union. According to LESTER, [ ] reported that from conversations he had with a number of Jewish writers in the Soviet Union, they mentioned they had no Yiddish type to print Yiddish publications. [ ] asked the Jewish writers why they did not send to Poland for the Yiddish type or have it imported from other countries in order to publish Yiddish newspapers, books, etc. According to LESTER, [ ] stated that these Jewish writers told him that the importation of Yiddish type or presses would be impossible since they would be held in violation of some Soviet law.

[ ] also reported that when he wanted to interview some Jewish doctors who were imprisoned under STALIN and later released, one Jewish doctor would not speak to [ ] unless he, [ ] agreed to speak to a group of the doctors who were released from prison. [ ] reported that the Jewish doctors, after being imprisoned and later released, were so scared and concerned about their personal welfare that they would not individually answer any questions he put to them about Jewish culture but would only answer his questions after a group consultation. The result of a group consultation was to protect their interest and guide their comments since they did not know whether they could trust [ ] or if he would report back to the Soviet officials what they would tell him.

[ ] reported that all through his visit to the Soviet Union he observed very little in the line of Jewish culture connected with the arts and sciences or the theater. LESTER advised that [ ] was so upset by the lack of Jewish culture and the feeling of anti-semitism expressed by the Soviets as related to him [ ]

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by the Jewish people he spoke to in the Soviet Union that he returned home and wrote articles in the "Morning Freiheit" newspaper criticizing Soviet Union anti-semitism.

LESTER stated that [ ] is a recognized Jewish writer in Communist circles and his report setting forth the lack of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union and the restriction under which Jewish professionals operate in the Soviet Union had a serious effect upon Jewish people in this country who read his articles. LESTER stated that in his opinion [ ] anti-Soviet views expressed in the "Morning Freiheit" and republished in other Yiddish publications resulted in the loss or drifting away of thousands of Jewish members from CP, USA.

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LESTER stated that this loss of Jewish CP membership in the NYC area which was caused by the reevaluation of anti-semitism in the Soviet Union had some effect on the Party leaders decision to move the National Office from NYC to Chicago.

CP, USA NATIONAL OFFICE  
TRANSFER TO CHICAGO

LESTER stated that because of the constant heavy loss of Jewish membership in the CP, USA in and about NYC over the past several months, the Party leaders became concerned about this and recognized the fact that the CP, USA was no longer attractive or appealing to the Jewish masses in NYC and decided that a change was necessary.

LESTER stated that the National Office of the CP, USA was originally in Chicago and some years ago was moved to NYC because the membership of the Party was being increased by recruiting Jewish people in the NYC area. LESTER stated that because NYC had the largest CP membership with the majority of the membership Jewish people, the Party leaders decided to move the National Office in about 1925 to NYC.

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LESTER stated that a majority of the top leaders of the CP, USA were Jewish people and they in turn attracted the Jewish masses to the movement. Today, however, the expose of anti-semitism in the Soviet Union has resulted in the loss of Jewish membership and a decision by the National leaders to move the National Office to Chicago.

LESTER stated that the National Office of the CP, USA being transferred to Chicago is for the purpose of being in the center of the nation where the Party can appeal to and recruit Negroes, farmers and basic industrial workers. LESTER stated that the move to Chicago in his opinion will take place in about one year but that a number of the top leaders of the Party may decide to remain in and about the metropolitan area.

LESTER stated that he believes the Party leaders will concentrate on recruiting workers in the farm belt area and basic industry in the Detroit, Pittsburgh and Chicago areas and Negro workers in the south.

LESTER advised that years ago he wrote articles for publication on economic matters under the name "JOHN SCOTT". He stated that he has not used this name in some years.

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LESTER was cordial and friendly to the interviewing agents and during the course of the conversation stated that he and his wife have discussed their position and had one of two roads to follow. LESTER stated that one road was to remain put and continue in his present position as a draftsman with the William Keller Company, 110 W. 42nd St., NYC, and continue to reside in NYC and the other road was to give up his job as a draftsman and become a truck driver (a position he has been offered at an attractive salary) and move possibly out of NYC.

LESTER stated that if he decides to remain in his position as a draftsman he recognizes the fact that he could be fired from his position if it becomes known that he was a Communist and/or could be subpoenaed by some governmental body.

LESTER stated that he and his wife appreciated the consideration rendered by the agents in not causing him any embarrassment by making inquiries at his place of employment. LESTER stated that he and his wife have decided to remain put and that he will continue to work as a draftsman and that they are going to move to the London Terrace Apartments, 23rd St. and 8th Ave., NYC, commencing 3/1/57.

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LESTER stated that his wife was fully aware of his conversations with the agents and has no objection to the same but in response to a query LESTER remarked that his wife "is not ready yet for an interview."

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Reference is made to NYairtel to Bureau, 2/15/57, setting forth information received from NY 1665-S\*. On 2/13/57, NY 1665-S\* confidentially advised that after LESTER returned home from meeting with the agents he received a call from LIL GATES, wife of JOHNNY GATES. According to informant, LIL GATES implied that the GATES group met with some success at the CP Convention but LESTER did not agree with her.

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LIL GATES discussed with LESTER the poor showing made by MAX WEISS and the fact that he was not elected to the National Board of the CP, USA. LIL mentioned that DENNIS and FOSTER did not get a good vote because the GATES group did not support them. According to the informant, LESTER asked LIL GATES "Where do we go from here." LIL GATES replied "That's what we want you to talk to us about," and invited LESTER to come to a get-together. According to informant, LESTER agreed and LIL GATES told him she would let him know when the get-together would take place.

In reference to the above information furnished by NY 1665-S\*, it should be appropriately paraphrased when being disseminated.

It should be noted that LESTER advised the agents that a great deal of pressure was put on him by GATES group to attend the CP, USA National Convention as an official delegate from Westchester but LESTER refused, giving the excuse that he was tied up with business commitments in his job plus the fact that he had to attend classes at NY University Evening Session twice a week.

LESTER stated that he refused to go to the convention because he just could not see getting involved in something he no longer had an interest in. LESTER stated that even though he has many good friends who are Party members, the Party leaders as a whole are repugnant to him and the less he has to do with them the better off he will be in his opinion.

LESTER stated that he is concerned about his own position regarding any action the government may take against him by prosecuting him as a leader of the Party but if he is arrested and prosecuted he will accept the wishes of the government authority but will defend himself if necessary through the American Civil Liberties Union. LESTER at the same time remarked that he hopes the day will not come when he will have to defend himself, meaning he hopes he will not be arrested.



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LESTER stated at the present time he is concerned about supporting his wife and step-son and in furthering his career as a draftsman.



LESTER, in the opinion of the agents, is still a Marxist at heart. However, LESTER, though claiming to hold the Party leaders in disfavor, still does not want to have an open break with them fearing he would receive bad publicity.



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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

3/5/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

COMMUNIST PARTY USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Rebulet 6/27/56 instructing NYO to furnish Bureau on a bi-monthly basis the number of CP members identified beginning 9/1/56, and New York letter 1/10/57 reporting on the period 11/1/56 - 1/1/57.

Set out hereinafter is a breakdown showing the gain or loss in each County or Section of the Security Index. In addition to what was set out in the previous letters, the Bureau will note that the additions and deletions are being set out by County, or in the case of Manhattan the geographical area:

<u>Geographical</u>	<u>CP Members 1/1/57</u>	<u>Number Identified 1/1/57 - 3/1/57</u>	<u>Deletions</u>	<u>Net Gain or Loss</u>	<u>CP Members 3/1/57</u>
Bronx	379	16	1	15	394
Brooklyn	515	13	18	-5	510
Queens	444	18	24	-6	438
Lower Manhattan	232	9	1	8	240
Mid-Manhattan	231	4	0	4	235
Upper Manhattan	406	23	3	20	426
Westchester	66	3	24	-21	45
Nassau	70	5	0	5	75
Putnam	0	0	0	0	0

2 - BUREAU (100-3-68) RM  
1 - NEW YORK (100-80638)

TSM:EMD  
(3)

1 - ASAC N. H. MC CABE  
1 - #12-0

1 - #12-8  
1 - #20-0

100-80638-1174

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-80638

<u>Geographical</u>	<u>CP Members 1/1/57</u>	<u>Number Identified 1/1/57 - 3/1/57</u>	<u>Deletions</u>	<u>Net Gain or Loss</u>	<u>CP Members 3/1/57</u>
Sullivan	4	0	0	0	4
Richmond	6	0	0	0	6
Columbia	0	0	0	0	0
Dutchess	0	1	0	1	1
Greene	3	0	2	-2	1
Orange	7	0	0	0	7
Rockland	4	2	0	2	6
Suffolk	6	2	0	2	8
Ulster	18	0	0	0	18
UNAVAILABLE SECTION	58	0	3	-3	55
SPECIAL	26	1	0	1	27
VERIFICATION PENDING	<u>34</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-3</u>	<u>31</u>
TOTALS	2509	97	79	18	2527

The NYO realizes that the net gain is very small. However, during January and February, many of the Agents were busy in covering the various conventions before the National Convention and, at present, covering the conventions following the National Convention. A number of individuals were identified as in attendance at these meetings and as expeditiously as possible the Agents are bringing the cases on those individuals up to date and submitting

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-80638

reports with recommendations to include in the Security Index. It is anticipated that the coverage afforded at these conventions will produce results in identifying members.

By letter dated 2/20/57, entitled "Security Investigations of Individuals," the NYO outlined to the Bureau in detail its plans to identify the CP membership. The Bureau will note that information is set out concerning the Industrial Division of the CP, consisting of a reported 2,450 members, and that a separate squad was being formed to investigate this Division since it encompasses all the geographical areas covered by the NYO. It is felt that this is a very fertile field for the identification of CP members and the NYO anticipates excellent results.

The Bureau will be advised of the NYO'S progress in this matter in its next bi-monthly letter.

3/11/57

AIRTEL

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)  
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Remylet 3/5/57, setting out CP members identified during period 1/1/57, to 3/1/57, and Buairtel 2/8/57, requesting data on coverage of delegates to National Convention, as well as section and club meetings. Data requested in reBuairtel being submitted by letter 3/12/57.

KELLY

3- Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)  
1- New York (100-80638)

ISM:ech  
(5)

*Wm*

*100-80638-1175*

Director, FBI (100-3)

March 12, 1957

SAC, Detroit (100-24727)

OF, CIA, SO, [unclear]  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

[redacted] who was furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity must be protected, on January 16, 1957, furnished material pertaining to the Communist Party, which was in the possession of [redacted] [unclear], 301, 1975 Michigan, Detroit.

[redacted] [unclear], 301, was convicted of violation of the Smith Act of 1940.

Contained in this material was a single, typewritten sheet of instructions from the "National Com. Sec.", dated September 1, 1955, and captioned "CP and 'SMITH ACTS'", setting forth procedures for handling transfers of CP members between districts in the future.

The following is taken verbatim from the above-mentioned letter:

"September 1, 1955

"To: SAC, Detroit; [unclear] [unclear]

"From: [unclear]

"Present sloppy practices in handling transfers continue to create security problems and unnecessary delays in contacting transferees. Transfers received by the National Office are frequently illegible, written on old pieces of paper, and contain inadequate information as to standing, characterization and method of contacting the person to be transferred. It is also apparent that transfers from clubs and sections are merely transmitted by districts without study of the transfer information as to its adequacy as well as political approval by the higher committee. The National Office has been placed in the difficult position of having to decide to send through inadequate material in order to avoid extreme delays.

1 - Director (100-3; 100-3-62, CP, [unclear]  
1 - New York (100-1941, CP, [unclear], [unclear])  
1 - Detroit (100-24727, CP, [unclear], [unclear])

SAC: [unclear]  
(2)

100-80638-176

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 12 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*



"Beginning with January 1st, the National Office will return improperly prepared transfers to the district of origin which must assume responsibility for further delay.

"Until a new national transfer system is evolved, districts should prepare their own uniform system. Transfers should be made on a half-sheet of paper, preferably typed; they must contain the following information: (1) Name and address of person (s) to be transferred; (2) Reason standing; (3) a clear political characterization as to activity and role, level of development, length of time in, recommendation for assignment, etc.; (4) a clear explanation of how the person who makes the contact is to be recognized.

"Many members have been lost because of inadequate handling of points (3) and (4), and frequently questions are raised about the person being transferred by the district of origin without any recommendation from the district. Any doubts must be resolved in the district of origin, and all districts will be held to account for persons transferred by them.

"Sincerely yours,

National Sec. Comm.

Care should be used in the dissemination of this information so that the identity of the source will not be revealed. A copy of the above-described document is contained in Detroit file 100-24727-120-34.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-8944)

2/26/57

SA F. W. GANNON

[REDACTED]  
IS-C; SA OF 1940

The following information from subject's file is being set forth for the information of any Agent who may be conducting investigation in the vicinity of subject's residence or employment pursuant to recent Bureau instructions concerning efforts to identify CP members, CP clubs, etc. Subject is a Key Figure and recently attended the 16th national CP Convention held 105 E. Houston St., NYC.

BACKGROUND

[REDACTED] was born in Brooklyn, NY, on [REDACTED] under the name of [REDACTED]. His name was legally changed to [REDACTED] 6/11/40. [REDACTED] resides with his wife and [REDACTED] children [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] NY. [REDACTED] is a citizen of the United States.

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EDUCATION

[REDACTED] graduated from [REDACTED] with an AB Degree on [REDACTED]. He received an MA Degree from [REDACTED] in [REDACTED].

MILITARY STATUS

[REDACTED] was inducted into the U. S. Army on [REDACTED]

EMPLOYMENT

During 1956, it was reported that [REDACTED] was [REDACTED] of [REDACTED]. In December, 1956, a letter on the letter-head of [REDACTED] signed [REDACTED] announced that [REDACTED] was suspending publication.

- 1 - New York 100-8944
- 1 - New York 100-80638 (CPUSA MEMBERSHIP) (19)
- 1 - New York 100-12887 (CP NYSTATE MEMBERSHIP) (12-8)

FWG:RML  
(3)

100-80638-1171

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
19 FEB 26 1957	

*[Handwritten signature]*



Memo  
NY 100-8944

COMMUNIST PARTY AFFILIATIONS

1941-1946. [redacted] Administrative [redacted] of CP of Mass.,

Paid official of CP, USA Houston, Texas.  
State [redacted] of the CP of Texas until 1950.

In July 1951, [redacted] went into the Communist underground, and his wife and children moved to [redacted] NY.

In 1955, [redacted] was located and informants have reported that he has been in constant touch with top ranking CP functionaries. In 1955 and 1956, he was [redacted] at the [redacted]. His wife [redacted] is a Security Index subject and also a Key Figure, also resides at [redacted] NY. She is a [redacted] of the CP, in [redacted] NY, and has been attending meetings of [redacted] in which the issue of factionalism has disrupted the meetings.

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[redacted] is presently under consideration for a Toplev interview.

The above information is being brought to the attention of Section 20-11 in view of [redacted] residence in that area.

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LEB 51 - 5 30 44.21

01A12107  
LEB 51 - 5 30 44.21

3/13/57

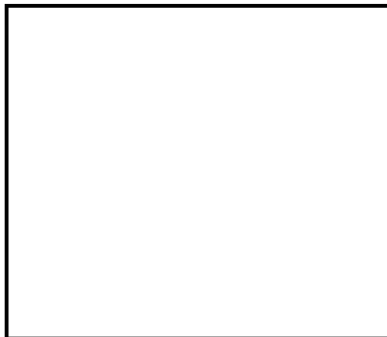
MEMO

TO: SAC, SAN DIEGO  
FROM: SA EDWARD J. KIRBY  
RE: CP, USA  
IS - C

INFORMATION USED FROM THIS MEMO SHOULD BE CAREFULLY  
PARAPHRASED TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

The following written report dated 3/5/57 was  
received from [redacted] and [redacted] by SA EDWARD J. KIRBY  
on 3/5/57. Original report is filed as serial 93 of  
[redacted]

"There was an open CP membership meeting at  
BODENHORN Hall in Bellflower on 2/27/57. Those present  
were:



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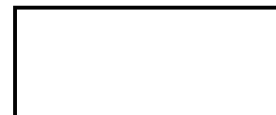
RECOMMENDATION: File, no action

100-741 CP, USA  
cc:



100-10165 [redacted] (SI)  
100-10099 [redacted] (SI)  
100-4138 [redacted] (SI)  
100-4555 [redacted] (SI)  
100-7161 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION  
100-6940 CP, USA, FACTIONALISM  
100-6764 CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
cc -2- New York (REGISTERED)  
CP, USA, ORGANIZATION  
CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
cc -18- Los Angeles (REGISTERED)  
CP, USA,  
HARBOR DIV. LACCP

EJK: mf  
(32)



100-80638  
1178  
INDEXED  
FILED  
APR 19 1957  
NEW YORK  
[Signature]

CP, USA, ORGANIZATION  
CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP

Searched \_\_\_\_\_ Indexed \_\_\_\_\_  
Serialized \_\_\_\_\_ Filed \_\_\_\_\_  
FBI, SAN DIEGO  
MAR. 13, 1957  
[Signature]

SD 100-741

[redacted] reported on the National Convention. She reported there were 299 delegates from 34 states representing a total membership of 25,000. There were 54 Negro delegates, 2 Mexicans, 2 Puerto Ricans, [redacted] reported the convention in three parts:

"1. The DENNIS' report to the convention. She gave a general report in praise of the DENNIS report.

"2. The FOSTER report. [redacted] criticized FOSTER and his report.

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"3. Name and form of the Party. She reported no change.

"4. Nature of Errors - left sectarianism, right opportunism.

"5. Interpretation - Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by the CP

"6. Constitution - minor changes. National Committee must let State and membership know of its dissenting opinions and decisions. If one third of National Committee dissents, the membership must be advised. "

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

3/12/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-128817)

CP USA, DISTRICT #2  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
IS - C

Rebuar-tel 2/8/57 requesting data on coverage of delegates to National Convention, as well as Section and Club meetings; New York letter 3/5/57 setting out CP members identified during period 1/1/57 to 3/1/57; and New York air-tel 3/11/57 advising Bureau that data requested in buair-tel would be submitted by letter 3/12/57.

In compliance with Bureau instructions as set forth in rebuar-tel, coverage of known delegates to the National Convention held 2/9-12/57 was instituted where believed feasible and the following results were obtained:

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| 1. Number of delegates on which coverage was afforded  | 17 |
| 2. Number of meetings covered as result of coverage of delegates   | 30 |
| 3. Number of persons identified at meetings who were not previously known and/or were not known to be active in CP affairs | 82 |

It is also to be noted that numerous persons were observed at these meetings whose names are unknown but whose pictures were taken and these will be identified in the near future.

Investigation is being instituted on the eighty-two persons identified, a summary report will be submitted and consideration will be given for inclusion on the Security Index.

In addition to the above, through misurs and surveillances, five known meeting places were covered reflecting meetings, since the National Convention of County and State staffs wherein the results of the National Convention were discussed. The known meeting places covered were Adelphi Hall, Academy Hall, National Palace and the board room of the New York State CP headquarters. From this coverage, no new members have been identified but organizational structure and future plans of the Party have been ascertained.

- 2 - BUREAU (100-3-68) RM  
1 - NEW YORK (100-80638) (CP USA MEMBERSHIP)  
1 - NEW YORK (100-128817)

ASB:EMD  
(4)

100-80638-1179

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 15 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*J. H. Waters*

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18952)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 3-13-57

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CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on March 1, 1957. CG 5824-S\* had received this information in a conversation with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District, and [redacted] Educational and Campaign Director for the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

[redacted] stated that he is currently on tour for the ACPFB. He said that during this time he has obtained the impression that members are quitting the Communist Party in batches. He stated that he had recontacted people, who he had talked to as Communist Party members just a few months ago, and learned that they are currently out of the Party.

LIGHTFOOT told [redacted] that while a lot of people are quitting the Communist Party in the Illinois-Indiana District, there is not a mass exodus from the Party.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- ③ - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-3620) (ACPFB)
  - (1 - 100- ) [redacted]
- 4 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-1521) (MCPFB)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

JEK:kw  
(9)

100-80638-1180

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 15 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters  
#19  
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CG 100-18952

further stated that while in Chicago he will attempt to find someone to take over the position of Chairman of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

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## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b7D

TO : SAC, BA [REDACTED]  
FROM : SA THEODORE M. MALINOWSKI  
SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED  
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

DATE: 3/15/57

cc's:

8 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)

*John* CP LINE

MEMBERSHIP

FACTIONALISM

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

EUGENE DENNIS

BENJAMIN DAVIS

NEGRO QUESTION

3 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)

ORGANIZATION, DIST. #4

[REDACTED] (100-6459)

[REDACTED] (100-20644)

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26 - Baltimore

100-160

100-9665

100-12173

100-12146

100-12076

100-13300

100-12871

100-10584

100-9350

100-10975

100-764

100-11936

100-13646

100-13235

100-12564

100-10995

100-11983

100-12412

GEORGE MEYERS

100-12464 ORG. DIST. #4  
100-15420 FREEDOM OF PRESS  
100-12125 PAMPHLETS &  
PUBLICATIONS  
100-12456 INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS  
100-13098 CP LINE  
100-12458 FACTIONALISM  
100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION

TMM:jmc  
(37)

100-80638-181

SEARCHED <i>in</i>	INDEXED <i>in</i>
SERIALIZED <i>in</i>	FILED <i>in</i>
MAR 21 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Water*  
*#19*

*John*

[REDACTED]

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[REDACTED]	3/3/57	3/13/57	THEODORE M. MALINOWSKI (Written)	[REDACTED]

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CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS  
INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY  
OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"I received a telephone call from [REDACTED] on March 3, 1957, about 1:30 P.M. He said that 'meeting' which GEORGE MEYERS told me about would take place 'tonight' and for me to meet him in the vicinity of the Met Theatre, on North Avenue, at 6:30 P.M. He said we would have another rider and I would know him when I got to the theatre location.

"Thereupon when I approached the Met Theatre I saw [REDACTED] who attended the other meeting of the delegates to the State CP Convention in January. I asked [REDACTED] if he were waiting for [REDACTED] and he hesitated to answer either yes or no. We talked in general about the weather, etc., and shortly thereafter [REDACTED] arrived and asked us to hop in.

"When we arrived at [REDACTED] home in [REDACTED] Md., only GEORGE MEYERS was present. However, before GEORGE MEYERS called the meeting to order the following arrived:

[REDACTED]

GEORGE MEYERS



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b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

"In addition the following persons were present from Washington, D. C. area: [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] I knew [REDACTED] from his previous work in the Progressive Party.

"GEORGE MEYERS called the meeting to order shortly after 8:00 P.M. stating the purpose of the meeting to be the discussion of the National Convention and unfinished business of the State Convention of the CP, Dist. 4. He asked that a chairman for the meeting be selected and [REDACTED] was elected after a spirited contest. [REDACTED] was elected Secretary for the meeting.. GEORGE and [REDACTED] had a short confab and then [REDACTED] proceeded to read the order of business. First he had listed reports on the National Convention by GEORGE MEYERS & [REDACTED] then he had the plan of holding the coming election of the District Board and District Committee. A time limit to the meeting was agreed upon and 11:30 was the time scheduled for departure. It was indicated by someone present that we have no definite limit to a lot of discussions that should be handled separately from this type of meeting.

[REDACTED] asked GEORGE about the resolutions which were referred to a committee on resolutions prior to the National Convention. GEORGE referred her to [REDACTED] who said only 3 resolutions were given to the resolutions committee. However, she did not say what action or recommendation was made on the resolutions.

[REDACTED]

"GEORGE MEYERS started his report on the National Convention. He said the CP National Committee apparently had not completed this official report. Therefore, his impressions were strictly his own. He said [REDACTED] might give a different slant on the proceedings.

"GEORGE said the CP moved rapidly and unflinchingly toward re-organizing the structure and leadership. He said there were free and often vigorous differences of opinion on operating the Party, but that in the end, all agreed that it would be disastrous to abandon the CP as it is presently known, and make it a simple political association. He said very vehemently that JOHN GATES, BEN DAVIS and EUGENE DENNIS agreed on these important points. GEORGE indicated that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER never lost control of the convention. GEORGE said despite what might have been inferred by the newspapers, radio and other news media, there will be no disagreement with Soviet Union on matters of basic value, even though at times a little double talk might make this seem possible.

"GEORGE said that quite often, the Marxist-Lenin theories were applied too strongly, and as a result left-sectarianism crept in to a considerable degree into the operation of the CP.

"However, GEORGE said the National Convention brought out the fact that the opposite could also be dangerous. This might lead to a 'right wing change' which could be more disastrous. He explained this policy as one that would attempt to change Marxism-Leninism itself, rather than allowing for poor application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the first place. GEORGE said that the CP draft resolution was voted in, overwhelmingly, with just small changes noted.

"Then GEORGE delivered what he considered a real point, and he began to look directly at the Negro delegates present as he spoke. He said the CP would carry the Negro problems as their own real problem. He said the CP would do the following: Support and take part in

[redacted]

"on the many anti-segregation problems of the South; battle vigorously for Negro equality in jobs, and up-grading policies on jobs, where Negroes always seem to lose out; work hard for housing integration in communities which up to the present time seemed eager to avoid the problem; battle for desegregation of public schools; support the NAACP in the South and those Negro groups which work toward desegregation of the schools as commanded by the Federal courts. GEORGE said it was generally agreed at the National Convention that Negro leadership in the CP would have to be developed to lead the way toward realization of such a noble program.

"Then [redacted] began his talk on observations he made at the State Convention for use at the National Convention. He said he went to the National Convention convinced that labor would have to give a full share of attention to helping the Negro realize his rights under the Supreme Court Ruling. When he saw how the National Convention viewed the part of labor in the National economy, he was sure the only real salvation of labor was thru the CP. He said, however, that the CP has often caused itself some embarrassment by crying out about impending trouble, which never really took place, thus making the CP a poor prophet. However, the proposals which the National Convention adopted, if fully used in the labor movement, would put the CP back in business in the labor field. However, [redacted] did not talk specifically on what the proposals were; he said so many changes were made in the original draft of resolutions that he preferred to wait until the material came directly from the National Committee before making comment on them. He then indicated the financial crisis experienced by the Daily Worker. He said several West Coast CP publications previously daily published had to go to a weekly schedule for lack of money. He said this should & could not happen to the Daily Worker because it reached too many people who depended on it for information. [redacted] also indicated that the Convention was composed of mature people, even though the age classification indicated relatively youthful members.

[redacted]

"After the reports were made, [redacted] made a motion to adopt the reports as read. [redacted] objected, saying he did not accept them, as really representative. The others thought the motion funny. So a discussion was held on the reports. Then a coffee break was had. During the break GEORGE MEYERS & [redacted] buttonholed [redacted] who was chairman of the meeting, and stated that [redacted] was proper in his motion to adopt the reports as read. Thereupon when the coffee break was over, it was recommended that a motion be entertained to adopt the reports. Then it was noted the hour for closing was drawing near. [redacted] who seemed to want the floor, was stopped by [redacted] who reminded him of the closing time, and told him to come to the next meeting, or submit a written report. [redacted] said he might not be there. It all ended in an adjournment around 11:40 P.M."

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This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance. *mm*

For the information of Washington Field and New York, [redacted] may be described as having furnished reliable information in the past.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC [REDACTED]  
FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON  
SUBJECT : INFORMATION FURNISHED  
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

DATE: 3/15/57

ccs:

10 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)  
100- CP LINE  
100- MEMBERSHIP  
100- FACTIONALISM  
100- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
100- WATERFRONT CP; USA  
100- AL LANNON  
100- ORGANIZATION, CP, USA  
100- WILLIAM FOSTER  
100- EUGENE DENNIS  
100- NEGRO QUESTION

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b7C  
b7D

3 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)  
100- ORGANIZATION, DIST. #4  
100-6459 [REDACTED]  
100-20644 [REDACTED]

29 - Baltimore [REDACTED]

BALTO. COPIES CONTINUED

100-160 [REDACTED]  
100-9665 [REDACTED]  
100-12173 [REDACTED]  
100-12146 [REDACTED]  
100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS  
100-8488 AL LANNON  
100-13300 [REDACTED]  
100-12871 [REDACTED]  
100-10584 [REDACTED]  
100-9350 [REDACTED]  
100-10975 [REDACTED]  
100-764 [REDACTED]  
100-11936 [REDACTED]  
100-13646 [REDACTED]

100-13235 [REDACTED]  
100-12564 [REDACTED]  
100-10995 [REDACTED]  
100-11983 [REDACTED]  
100-12412 [REDACTED]  
100-16752 WATERFRONT, DIST. #4  
100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DIST. #4  
100-4090 BALTO. DIST. #4  
100-11950 STEEL, DIST. #4  
100-12125 PAMPS. & PUBS.  
100-12456 INTERNATIONAL RELS.  
100-13098 CP LINE  
100-12458 FACTIONALISM  
100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION

Ren  
RCN:cm  
(42)

14 MAR 20 1957

NEW YORK

100-88638-1182

[REDACTED]

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[REDACTED]	2/28; 3/3/57 (CP State Convention)	3/12/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[REDACTED]

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CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS  
INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY  
OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"Baltimore, Md.  
March 7, 1957

"On Feb. 28, 1957 [REDACTED] called my home at about 6:20 PM asking what was the best way for him to get to my home as he wanted to see me. [REDACTED] arrived at my home at about 7:45 PM. He asked me if I was doing anything special on Sunday, March 3, 1957. I told him no. [REDACTED] then asked me to meet him in front of the 'Met Theater' at North and Penn. Ave. at 6:30 PM, as [REDACTED] and he are going someplace and wanted me to go along. I told [REDACTED] that I would meet him.

"On March 3, 1957 I arrived at North Ave. and Cumberland St. at 6:10 PM. I walked over to the Met Theater arriving there at about 6:15 PM. At about 6:30 PM [REDACTED] arrived and asked me if I were waiting for [REDACTED]. I never gave [REDACTED] a direct answer. I, in turn, asked [REDACTED] if he was to meet [REDACTED] at this point. He said yes. At about 6:35 or 6:40 PM [REDACTED] arrived, picked both of us up, from there we drove to [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] home.

"On arrival there GEORGE MEYERS, Chairman of the Communist Party of Maryland and Washington, D. C., was there. I told MEYERS that I had received my validated seamen's

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b7D

[REDACTED]

"papers and I also received an interrogatory of 19 questions from the U. S. Coast Guard to be answered. I told him I called his home on Feb. 26, 1957 for information whether or not I should fill it out. MEYERS said to forget about it and not to answer it. MEYERS said while he was in New York attending the Communist Party National Convention he had a talk with ALBERT LANNON, Communist Party National Waterfront Organizer, and he was told by LANNON that no Communist Party seaman in New York will fill out the interrogatories as it is a Communist Party policy for all CP seamen with validated papers not to fill out the interrogatories.

"GEORGE MEYERS, Chairman of the Communist Party of Maryland and Washington, D. C., called the Communist Party State Convention to order at about 8:10 PM to reconvene to discuss the Communist Party National Convention decision. MEYERS asked that a Chairman and a recording secretary be elected. In election for Chairman the following were nominated:

[REDACTED]

HELEN from Washington, D. C., last name I do not know, declined

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] received five votes apiece, [REDACTED] gave way to [REDACTED] as Chairman.

"[REDACTED] received four votes.

"In election for Recording Secretary, the following were nominated:

[REDACTED]  
Helen from Wash. DC - D

[redacted]

"I noticed during the discussion that both [redacted] and [redacted] took full notes of the CP Convention discussion. Those whom I know attended the reconvened Communist Party State Convention, March 3, 1957, at [redacted] and [redacted] home are listed as follows:

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GEORGE MEYERS

[redacted]

[redacted]

"There were a white man and woman from Washington, D. C. The woman I only know by the name of [redacted] as most people at the Convention called her by that name. The man's name was never called. I will give a description of both as follows:

"Description of [redacted] woman

Age about [redacted]

Height, [redacted]

Weight, [redacted] pounds

Build, small

Hair, looked to be mixed [redacted]

[redacted]

Eyes, [redacted]

[redacted] nose

Complexion [redacted]

"Description of white man

Age, about 58

Height, 5'6½"

Weight, about 185

Build, stocky-heavy

Hair, mixed grey, bald

Eyes, looked to be light blue or bluish-grey.

Wearing brown rimmed eyeglasses.

Complexion, ruddy

Wearing close shave, face fat, round



[redacted]

[redacted] asked MEYERS for the agenda. MEYERS showed [redacted] an already printed agenda. [redacted] copied it on another piece of paper and read it off as follows:

"I. Report by Delegates (GEORGE MEYERS, [redacted] who attended the Communist Party National Convention in New York, Feb. 9-12, 1957.

"II. Set up election procedure for the incoming Communist Party District Board and CP District Committee.

"III. Discussion on delegates report be closed at 11:15 PM as we have two out of town people who must leave at about 11:30 PM for home,

[redacted] asked whether there were any further business for the agenda. No reply. A motion was made by [redacted] to adopt the agenda, seconded by [redacted] It was carried.

[redacted] wanted to know from MEYERS what happened to the resolutions that were not acted on by the CP State Convention third session, Jan. 31, 1957 but was referred to the resolution committee (that was set up by the Communist Party District Board) to take action on before sending to the CP National Convention. MEYERS said he did not know but we have a member of the resolution committee here, she will give you the answer.

[redacted] said she was a member of the resolution committee and that the committee only worked on three resolutions: one from steel calling for a tightening up on the fight for the Communist Party, II Steel called for support around keeping the present name and form of the Communist Party. Nothing else was said. From what GEORGE MEYERS told me in Jan. of 1957 about the Communist Party District Board election three of its members as the resolution committee are to type all CP pre-convention discussion. At that time it made me believe very strongly that [redacted] was a member of the Communist Party District Board at the time.

"GEORGE MEYERS said that [redacted] and himself will give a brief report on what the Communist Party National Convention did.

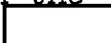

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"MEYERS said he has sent a letter to the Communist Party National Committee in New York, who is handling the Communist Party National Convention material but as yet he has not received any word from the CP National Committee, and from what he has learned the CP National Committee is making quite a bit of changes in the material.

"MEYERS said in his opening remark that when he left for the CP National Convention he was a little wary as to the outcome of the Convention. He went on to say that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman of the Communist Party, and EUGENE DENNIS, Communist Party General Secretary, delivered the keynote at the opening of the convention by calling for independence and unity of the Communist Party. MEYERS said his report will be based on the reports that were in the 'Daily Worker' since he has not received the official CP National Convention material.

"MEYERS said Comrade DENNIS took sharp issue with the French Communist Party of France and its leader,   
 In regard to the greeting the U. S. Communist Party received from the French Communist Party warning the 'dangerous departures' by American Communists from Marxist-Leninist principle. MEYERS said even though the Convention took issue with the French Communist Party and even though the Communist Party Convention called for its independence, it does not mean that the Communist Party of the United States will close its doors to the advice of other Communist Parties of the world, such as the Soviet Union, China, France, Italy and the international Communist movement.

"MEYERS said the note of unity was struck when the delegates of the CP Convention overwhelmingly approved a resolution of continuing the Communist Party and its form, and opposing its transformation into a political association. He went on to say that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, JOHN GATES, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, and DENNIS voted for the unity resolution.

"MEYERS said that all through the Convention, while he was there, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was in full control. He said we must agree with FOSTER when he said he (FOSTER)

[REDACTED]

"agreed with the need for the struggling for peaceful coexistence, but criticized what he termed a current 'underestimation of the war danger and of the aggressive role of American imperialism'. MEYERS said the CP Convention voted overwhelmingly to accept the Communist Party draft resolution with a few minor changes. MEYERS said the CP Convention voted overwhelmingly to uphold the section of the CP draft resolution which described sectarianism as the source of most errors in the past. He said the Communist Party and its membership must end its isolation, our main task before American Communists now is to overcome left-sectarianism in all fields. He said the Communist Party must battle against sectarianism and opportunism, while the chief emphasis is against the prevalent danger.

"MEYERS said in the process of carrying out the main task, the CP must continue to maintain its vigilance against right opportunist tendencies, combating them at all times. This is especially necessary in view of the extremely sharp turn which the Communist Party is now making in many of its basic policies. MEYERS said there was sharp discussion from the delegates on the Communist Party draft resolution section dealing with Marxism-Leninism.

"MEYERS pointed out that the resolutions sub-committee were split 14-12 on the above discussion (Marxism-Leninism) he said basing ourselves on these Marxist-Leninist principles as interpreted by the Communist Party of our country, we must learn better how to extract from the rich body of this theory that which is universally valid combining it with the specific experiences of the American working class in the struggle for socialism in the United States.

"MEYERS said the Communist Party National Convention adopted a resolution on Negro rights he said all Communists and all progressive Americans are called upon to marshal their maximum strength to enhance the liberation movement of the Negro people this required as follows:

I. Full participation in and support of the all-sided anti-segregation movement in the south.

[REDACTED]

"II. The strengthening and broadening of the battle for the unfettered right of suffrage for all Negro southerners.

III. An intensified struggle for equal employment and upgrading practices in all industries for the Negro people everywhere in the Nation.

"IV. An unfolding of major campaigns to break down segregation in housing.

"V. Acting for desegregation of public schools.

"VI. Intensifying the ideological struggle against racism.

"MEYERS said the Communist Party National Convention pointed out that the CP as a whole must have more Negro leadership such as BENJAMIN J. DAVIS.

"MEYERS said that as far as he knows, the Communist Party draft Constitution was not passed by the Convention. [REDACTED] said the Communist Party National Convention has set a record by closing its rank with the word unity. He said the American bourgeoisie of Wall Street were sure we were going to be split down the middle, not at the end but at the very beginning, and the convention would be dissolved, but it did not happen. [REDACTED] said he was amazed how the delegates carried out discussions and the way they elected the new Communist Party leadership.

[REDACTED] said he was elected to the trade union resolution committee while at the Convention the Committee went over quite a number of resolutions but from what he learned after arriving back in Baltimore from the Convention, most of the resolutions the committee worked on are being changed by the Communist Party National Committee and he would rather wait until they were sent down from New York before he discusses them.

[REDACTED] said he would like to give a little highlight on the resolution adopted by the CP National Convention, The Economic Situation in the U.S.A.

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[redacted]

"My report will be continued on further discussions that took place at the reconvened Communist Party State Convention held March 3, 1957.

This memo has been compared with informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

For the information of New York and Washington Field, [redacted] may be described as having furnished reliable information in the past.

For the information of Washington Field, [redacted] who also attended the CP State Convention of March 3, 1957, identified the man and woman from Washington, D. C. as [redacted] and [redacted] wife of [redacted]

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On March 7, 1957, [redacted] was shown a picture of [redacted] taken in July, 1954. [redacted] after examining the picture, orally advised SA ROBERT C. NORTON that the picture was identical with the unknown subject from Washington, D. C. who attended the CP State Convention March 3, 1957.

Washington Field is requested to send a recent photo of [redacted] so that [redacted] may examine and attempt identification.

Dissemination to the Coast Guard concerning CP policy on screened seamen is being made by separate letter to the Bureau with blank memorandum as enclosures.

With regard to nominations for Chairman of the meeting and the Recording Secretary, the letter "D" after the names of the persons nominated indicates "Declined" and the letter "A" indicates "Accepted".

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BA [REDACTED]  
FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON  
SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED  
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

DATE: 3/15/57

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[REDACTED]	3/3/57 CP State Convention	3/13/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[REDACTED]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS  
INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY  
OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

cc's:

*John*  
4 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)  
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA  
~~NEGRO QUESTION~~  
~~MEMBERSHIP~~  
YOUTH

1 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)  
ORGANIZATION, DIST. #4

6 - Baltimore  
100-12412 [REDACTED]  
100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DIST. #4  
100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION  
100-12170 MEMBERSHIP  
100-12462 YOUTH

*RCN*  
RCN:jmc  
(11)

100-80638-1183

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 11 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Waters*  
*J.V. Waters*  
#19

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[REDACTED]

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"Baltimore, Md.  
March 12, 1957

"This is a continued report on the reconvened Communist Party State Convention held March 3, 1957, at [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] home.

"This report is addition to [REDACTED] (a member of the Communist Party District Board) report in which he made on March 3, 1957, at the Communist Party reconvened convention.

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"At the beginning of [REDACTED] report, who served as a delegate to the Communist Party National Convention, Feb. 9-12, 1957, [REDACTED] said he was elected and served on the 'Trade Union Resolutions Committee' at the Communist Party National Convention, Feb. 9-12, 1957.

"Just before [REDACTED] made his closing remark on his report, he gave a survey of delegates' ages who attended the CP National Convention. He said 298 delegates attended the Communist Party National Convention. Of these there were:

160 between the ages of 35 to 45 years old

65 between the ages of 45 to 55 years old

20 between the ages of 55 to 60 years old

15 were 65 years old

22 between the ages of 25 to 35 years old


16 between the ages of 18 to 25 years old

[REDACTED] said of the 298 delegates, 56 were Negroes. He said that 150 visitors and 12 observers also attended the CP National Convention."



This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

b7D

For the information of New York and Washington Field,  may be described as having furnished reliable information in the past.



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

DATE: 4/3/57 *WNY*FROM :  SUPERVISOR #12-0SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SAC  
DIV. 1  
DIV. 2  
DIV. 3  
DIV. 4  
SEC. 1  
SEC. 2  
SEC. 3  
SEC. 4  
SEC. 5  
SEC. 6  
SEC. 7  
SEC. 8  
SEC. 9  
SEC. 10  
SEC. 11  
SEC. 12  
SEC. 13  
SEC. 14  
SEC. 15  
SEC. 16  
SEC. 17  
SEC. 18  
SEC. 19  
SEC. 20

b6  
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Set out hereinafter the breakdown showing the gain or loss in each county or section of the Security Index for the period March 1-31, 1957.

It will be noted that there was a net <sup>gain</sup> given for the month for 21 identified CP members, although actually 48 CP members were identified, but 27 individuals were deleted from the Security Index.

Geographical	CP Members 3/1/57	Number Identified 3/1-31/57	Deletions	Net Gain or Loss	CP Members 4/1/57
Bronx	394	15	1	14	408
Brooklyn	510	7	3	4	514
Queens	438	12	4	8	446
Lower Manhattan	240	5	0	5	245
Mid Manhattan	235	3	1	2	237
Upper Manhattan	426	4	4	0	426
Westchester	45	1	0	1	46
Nassau	75	0	0	0	75
Putnam	0	0	0	0	0
Sullivan	4	0	2	-2	2
Richmond	6	1	2	-1	5
Columbia	0	0	0	0	0
Dutchess	1	0	0	0	1
Greene	1	0	0	0	1
Orange	7	0	0	0	7
Rockland	6	0	1	-1	5
Suffolk	8	0	0	0	8
Ulster	18	0	0	0	18
Verification Pend.	31	0	9	-9	22
Special Section	27	0	0	0	27
Unavailable	55	0	0	0	55
TOTALS	2,527	48	27	+ 21	2548

1- ASAC N.H. McCABE  
1- 20-0  
1- 7-0  
1- 12-0

TSM:ecb

SEARCHED <i>ll</i>	INDEXED <i>ll</i>
SERIALIZED <i>ll</i>	FILED <i>ll</i>
APR 3 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*18m*

100-80638-1184

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-442)

DATE: APR 2 1957

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP

The following is being furnished for the information of the Bureau and offices receiving this communication.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity must be protected, on March 21, 1957 advised that [redacted] Organizer of the Boston Branch, Socialist Workers Party, on March 7, 1957, reported that during the course of GEORGE WEISSMAN, Jr.'s visit to Boston in February, 1957 he had conversed with WEISSMAN on the subject of the current numerical strength of the Communist Party, USA, as estimated by the Socialist Workers Party leaders in New York City on the basis of facts and figures derived from the Communist Party National Convention in February, 1957.

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Informant noted that GEORGE WEISSMAN, Jr. of the National Office, Socialist Workers Party, visited Boston February 14 to February 17, 1957 to visit with his father who was confined to the Beth Israel Hospital, Boston, for a hernia operation. WEISSMAN, during his visit, attended a meeting of the Boston Branch, SWP, held

AVS:plb

3 - Bureau, RM

2 - 100-16

1 - 100-3-68 (CP MEMBERSHIP)

3 - New York, RM

1 - 100-4013 (SWP)

1 - 100- (G. WEISSMAN, JR.)

1 - 100- (CP MEMBERSHIP)

1 - Los Angeles, (CP MEMBERSHIP, 100- ), RM

4 - Boston

1 - 100-442

1 - [redacted]

1 - 100-7697 [redacted]

1 - 100-20778 (CP MEMBERSHIP)

(11)

noted  
APR 2  
1957

100-80638-1185

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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APR 3 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Waters J. Waters  
#19

BS 100-442

February 14, 1957 at the Gardner Hotel, 199 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. According to [ ] WEISSMAN stated that 50 per cent of the Communist Party, USA membership is located in and around New York City, that 25 per cent of the membership is located in and around the city of Los Angeles and that the final 25 per cent is scattered throughout the remainder of the United States. [ ] commented that to the best of his knowledge the Boston area ranked about 3th in the United States as a center of Communist Party numerical strength. [ ] did not, however, make any mention as to the number of Communist Party members in the Boston area.

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[ ] stated that according to WEISSMAN there are approximately 2,000 CP, USA members located in and around New York City. On the basis of the above 2,000, [ ] commented that there are approximately 1,000 CP, USA members located in and around Los Angeles and approximately 1,000 more scattered throughout the United States in areas other than New York City and Los Angeles. [ ] further concluded that if the SWP's leadership estimates are correct, the CP, USA currently has a total bona fide membership in the entire United States of 4,000.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3) DATE: March 18, 1957  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-55028)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA, 16TH NATIONAL CONVENTION  
IS-C

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of this live informant.

Informant, on returning to Los Angeles, California on February 14, 1957 advised that he had dictated to New York agents, some of the highlights and details of the National Convention; however, in order to make certain that other details are set out, he felt that the entire Convention should be redictated. This was done on a dictaphone in the presence of SA MERLE L. PARKER on February 15, 1957 at Los Angeles and was proofread and documented by this informant, [redacted] on February 21, 1957 and the original report is located in file [redacted]

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Informant advised that had it been possible to complete the report in detail prior to returning to Los Angeles it would have been more detailed and complete.

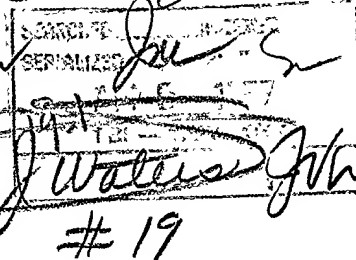
Los Angeles advised the New York Office by letter of February 28, 1957 as to the identity of delegates and visitors who attended each day of the Convention.

Because of the length of this memorandum an index has been prepared on individuals mentioned therein.

Copies of this channelizing memorandum based on informant's report are being sent to the following offices:

cc: [redacted]  
100-26044 (CP. USA ORGANIZATION)  
100-5707 [redacted]  
100-42626 [redacted]  
100-4486 (D. HEALEY) (SI)  
100-20175 [redacted]  
100-26173 [redacted]  
100-43702 [redacted]  
100-4663 (B. DOBBS) (SI)  
100-23356 [redacted]  
100-24688 [redacted]  
100-22873 [redacted]

100-26984 [redacted]  
100-37783 [redacted]  
100-23069 [redacted]



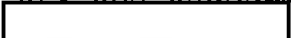
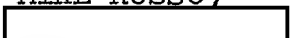

MLP:RRD  
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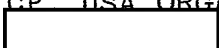
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100-6445  
100-20737  
100-23700




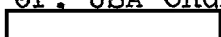


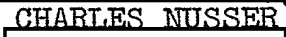

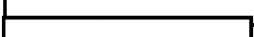
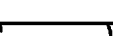
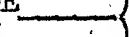
5 - BOSTON (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100-   
(100- MIKE RUSSO)  
(100-   
(100- BEN 

1 - CHARLOTTE (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)

2 - INDIANAPOLIS (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- MANNY BLUM)

2 - MILWAUKEE (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- 

3 - MINNEAPOLIS (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- MERIDEL LE SUEUR)  
(100- 

10 - NEWARK (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100-   
(100-   
(100-   
(100- CHARLES NUSSER)  
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(100-   
(100- CLYDE   
(100- JOHN 

1 - RICHMOND (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)




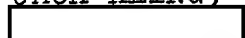
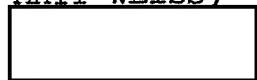

1 - SAN DIEGO (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)

2 - BUREAU (REGISTERED)

2 - BALTIMORE (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- GEORGE MEYERS)

1 - BUFFALO (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)



2 - BUTTE (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- 

15 - CHICAGO (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- MORRIS CHILDS)  
(100-   
(100-   
(100-   
(100- FRED FINE)  
(100- GIL GREEN)  
(100- JACK KLING)  
(100-   
(100- CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
(100- GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT)  
(100- MATT WEISS)  
(100-   
(100- ESTHER 

1 - NEW HAVEN (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)

1 - NEW ORLEANS (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)

1 - OMAHA (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)

4 - PHILADELPHIA (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100-   
(100-   
(100- THOMAS NABRIED)

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COPIES CONTINUED

83 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED)	(100- -	CLAUDIA JONES)
(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)	(100-	AL LANNON)
(100- CP COLONIAL MATTERS)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- CP STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- CP CULTURAL ACTIVITY)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- CP DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- CP EDUCATION)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- CP FACTIONALISM)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- CP FARMERS MATTERS)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- CP FUNDS)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- CP LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- <del>CP MEMBERSHIP</del> )	(100-	WILLIAM NORMAN)
(100- CP NATIONAL GROUP COMMISSION)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- CP NEGRO QUESTION)	(100-	WILLIAM PATTERSON)
(100- CP ORGANIZATIONS)	(100-	PETTIS PERRY)
(100- CP POLITICAL ACTIVITY)	(100-	IRVING POTASH)
(100- CP SECURITY MEASURES)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- [REDACTED])	(100-	PAUL ROBESON)
(100- JOHN ABT)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- [REDACTED])	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- JAMES ALLEN)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- HERBERT APTHEKER)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- PHIL BART)	(100-	HOWARD SELSAM)
(100- AL BLUMBERG)	(100-	MILLICENT SELSAM)
(100- [REDACTED])	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- [REDACTED])	(100-	NIMMY SPARKS)
(100- [REDACTED])	(100-	JACK STACHEL)
(100- JESUS COLON)	(100-	SID STEIN)
(100- DAVIS)	(100-	ED STRONG)
(100- BEN DAVIS)	(100-	ROBERT THOMPSON)
(100- [REDACTED])	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- EUGENE DENNIS)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- [REDACTED])	(100-	DOXEY WILKERSON)
(100- [REDACTED] possibly [REDACTED])	(100-	HENRY WINSTON)
(100- [REDACTED])	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- JIM FORD)	(100-	GIDEON [REDACTED]
(100- WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)	(100-	ROSE [REDACTED]
(100- [REDACTED])	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)	2 - ST. LOUIS (REGISTERED)	
(100- BETTY GANNETT)	(100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)	
(100- JOHN GATES)	(100-	[REDACTED]
(100- LILLIAN GATES)		
(100- SIMON GERSON)		
(100- [REDACTED])		
(100- JAMES JACKSON)		
(100- IRWIN [REDACTED])		

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COPIES CONTINUED

16 - SAN FRANCISCO (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP. USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- ARCHIE BROWN)  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- JOE CLARK)  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- LOUISE TODD LAMBERT)  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- ROSCOE PROCTOR)  
(100- AL RICHMOND)  
(100- WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- OLETA YATES)  
(100- LIM [REDACTED])

10 - DETROIT (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP. USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- TOM DENNIS)  
(100- NAT GANLEY)  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- SAUL WELLMAN)  
(100- CARL WINTER)  
(100- HELEN WINTER)

7 - SEATTLE (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP. USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- [REDACTED])

4 - CLEVELAND (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP. USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- [REDACTED])  
(100- GUS HALL)  
(100- HY LUMER)

2 - DENVER (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP. USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- [REDACTED])

2 - PITTSBURGH (REGISTERED)  
(100- CP. USA ORGANIZATION)  
(100- [REDACTED])

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# I N D E X

There is being set out here and under, the names, areas, if known, and pages numbers on which each name appears, of those individuals mentioned in the memorandum which involves the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party held in New York City February 9-12, 1957.

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[REDACTED]	New York	34
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APTHEKER, HERBERT	New York	105
BART. PHIL	New York	121
[REDACTED]	Denver	2,9,29,68, 106,128
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BLUM, MANNY	Indianapolis	19,24,25,83, 105,129
BLUMBERG, AL	New York	25,39,74,105
[REDACTED]	San Francisco	103,130
[REDACTED]	Detroit	87,128
BROWN, ARCHIE	San Francisco	33,45,63,73,105, 130
[REDACTED]	San Francisco	130
[REDACTED]	New York	85,86,88
[REDACTED]	Newark	129
[REDACTED]	Newark	110,129
[REDACTED]	Los Angeles	125
[REDACTED]	Cleveland	57,128
CHARNEY, GEORGE BLAKE	New York	4,6,9,27,29,52, 53,61,74,106, 112,116,117
CHILDS, MORRIS	Nebraska	46,59,105,129
CLARK, JOE	San Francisco	8,9
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[REDACTED]	New York	13,15
[REDACTED]	New York	13,14,15
[REDACTED]	New York	60,88
[REDACTED]	New York	10, 105
[REDACTED]	San Francisco	103,130
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[REDACTED]	Los Angeles	125,129
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[REDACTED]	French CP	47,38,53,122
[REDACTED]	Chicago	57,76,105,117, 129
[REDACTED]	New York	28
[REDACTED]	New York	14
[REDACTED]	Chicago	69
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[REDACTED]	New York	87
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FOREST, JIM	Los Angeles	129
FOSTER, WILLIAM Z.	New York	27,28,29,32,35, 36,46,51,52,53, 54,57,61,62,63, 66,73,75,92,94, 105,107,117, 118,126,129
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[REDACTED]	Los Angeles	2,3,4,5,6,7,8, 13,23,34,55, 75,78,81,103, 128
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[REDACTED]	Los Angeles	103,129
[REDACTED]	Boston	128
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[REDACTED]	Los Angeles	20,21,22,26,91, 103,129
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[REDACTED]	New York	60,63,106,117, 129
LUMER, HY	Cleveland	58,105,128
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[REDACTED]	New York	91,129

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[REDACTED]	New York	63,68	
[REDACTED]	New York	129	
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[REDACTED]	New York	88,129	
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[REDACTED]	Minneapolis	106,112,129	
[REDACTED]	Los Angeles	107, 129	
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SCHAPPES, MORRIS U.	New York	26	
[REDACTED]	New York	26,123	
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	San Francisco	6,7,10,26,34, 73,83,84,92, 103,104,108, 109,130	
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[REDACTED]	Washington State	38,73,130
[REDACTED]	Washington State	130
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[REDACTED]	San Francisco	12,13,130
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[REDACTED]	Washington State	130
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[REDACTED]	Chicago	37,51,128
[REDACTED]	Los Angeles	25,103,129
[REDACTED]	New York	129
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[REDACTED]	New York	129
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ED _____		75
ESTHER _____	Chicago	62
GIDEON _____		89
IRWIN _____	New York	68
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ROSE _____	New York	57,75

"Los Angeles, California  
February 15, 1957

"From the period of February 9 through February 12, 1957, the National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, was held in the City of New York at the Chateau Gardens on the lower east side at Houston Street and 2nd Avenue. Prior to the calling together of this National Convention numerous delegates from various areas throughout the country began to arrive, many of them, as much as a week early to help with the preparatory work of the Convention and to discuss amongst themselves some of the basic issues which were to be taken up at the Convention, some to participate in the National Committee meeting which was held for two days just immediately prior to the Convention, and others to participate in the preliminary work of certain of the committees which were already operating during the period immediately preceding the calling together of the Convention officially.

"On February 4, 1957, prior to the Convention DOROTHY HEALEY, BEN DOBBS, and [redacted] arrived on Tuesday morning at National Committee headquarters, followed shortly by [redacted] and then shortly thereafter that afternoon by [redacted] and [redacted] from Denver, Colorado, also seen in this group was [redacted] of San Bernardino. These together with many of the other delegates

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who were arriving from other areas including several individuals who would be subsequently identified in the course of this report. Among the various meetings which took place in the pre-convention period the following were observed: A meeting was held between DOROTHY HEALEY and [ ] which was participated in briefly by BEN DOBBS, the first two meeting with SID STEIN, who was functioning at the time as the secretary of the organizing committee of the Convention. The purpose of this meeting was to indicate which members of the various parts of the Los Angeles delegation to the Convention wanted to serve on certain committees. It was outlined to SID STEIN that each of the members of the delegation desired to serve on at least one committee of the Convention, most of these desiring to serve either on the Resolutions or Constitution Committees. The proposals which were made by DOROTHY HEALEY and concurred in by [ ] were generally acceptable to SID STEIN and will be reported at least partially later on in this report.

"A meeting was also observed between [ ] DOROTHY HEALEY and FRED FINE. FRED FINE at this time was acting as the general chairman of the Constitutions Committee and was also concerned with problems involving the organization of the Convention. He was particularly concerned for example with the selection of individuals who would serve as session

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chairman and it was agreed attentively that [ ] of California be one of the session chairmen, although it turned out later on that this was an impractical proposition because he was working on the Trade Union Committee. It was made plain to DOROTHY HEALEY by FRED FINE that in view of the fact that she had been working for sometime on the preliminary Resolutions Committee of the National Convention that it was desired by the National Committee that she continue to serve in this important function and it was suggested that she be the secretary of the committee of which SID STEIN would be the general chairman. It was also pointed out during the course of these discussions that it was the desire of the Los Angeles delegation that [ ] serve on the Rules and Procedures Committee at the Convention. FRED FINE explained that this committee was largely an honorary committee which was not expected to function in more than just an ordinary presiding capacity during the course of the Convention; that [ ] had expected to make a contribution with regard to the rules and with regard to the agenda and that an exception would be made and that [ ] would be seated at least temporarily in the work of this committee. [ ] later met with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and CARL WINTER, who were working almost alone as a temporary Rules and Procedures Committee, and whose basic job it was to organize the agenda and the rules of the Convention. Meeting with these two occasionally were BEN DAVIS and GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY. [ ] in his capacity

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as an assistant to the temporary Rules Committee, was able to supply important aid to the committee particularly in the working out of rule 8 of the Convention which had to do with the method by which amendments were to be made from the floor of the Convention. According to this rule it was impossible for an individual to rise from the floor to amend any report of any committee with an amendment which was contrary to the sense of the report. Any amendment which was contrary to the sense of report had to be turned in through the committee and the only way that any delegate could get the Convention to agree to go along with his contrary ideas was to urge them to defeat the report itself in the main. [ ] was also instrumental during the course of his work on this committee in getting the other members of the temporary Rules and Procedures Committee to agree to note down tentative times for the various points of the agenda so that, when the agenda was finally published, a time table was along side in the left-hand margin of the agenda indicating at what time each of the various points on this agenda was to be considered. In addition to that, [ ] suggested and helped in the writing of a 'dope' sheet, copy of which is appended, and which certain specific suggestions were made to each of the incoming chairmen so that they would know any of the cues which were required in terms of the side lines of the Convention. FRED FINE, together with CARL WINTER, wrote up a table on the basic delegations so that these would have equitable strength on the various committees of the

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Convention. This table was later introduced to the Convention and used as the basis for organizing the various committees. During the course of the meeting between LIGHTFOOT, WINTER, and [ ] BEN DAVIS entered with a list of additional people which he wanted to add to the list which had already been worked up by CARL WINTER for chairman, secretary, co-chairman and co-secretary of the various committees of the Convention. He pointed out that he felt that there were not enough people of the 'left caucus' position, although he did not use that term, the term was clearly implied, however, in a position of importance on these various committees. GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY was present in the room and while he agreed to the addition to five or six additional people as proposed by BEN DAVIS he refused to go along with DAVIS' original proposition that an additional 10 or 15 'left caucus' persons be placed in positions of authority on the various subcommittees. It was finally decided which people, most of them coming from the Harlem area, the main purpose of the additions being to guarantee that at least some representation be given in the running of every subcommittee for the position of the left caucus. When this was out of the way and the work of the committee had gone forward, [ ] retired from the Rules and Procedures Committee at the specific request of DOROTHY HEALEY, who had been in consultation with BILL SCHNEIDERMAN, chairman of the California State Communist Party.

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BILL SCHNEIDERMAN had requested that someone from the central leadership, someone who is associated on a full-time basis with the California Party, be the one representative who would be permitted on the future Presiding Committee. It had previously been agreed on consultation with [ ] that the Presiding Committee of the Convention which would be concerned with rules and procedures contain in addition to the six-man secretariat of the Party, one representative from each delegation at the Convention. Since there was only one representative from the delegation from California it was decided that it should be someone like DOROTHY HEALEY or BILL SCHNEIDERMAN, rather than someone in a relatively obscure position like [ ]. Accord- ingly [ ] agreed in private conversation to retire from the Rules and Procedures Committee and was thereupon recommended at an early meeting of the California delegation by DOROTHY HEALEY to serve on the Elections and Leadership Committee of the Convention instead and he proceeded to function in this capacity except for a short period where he served as a member of the organizing group of the Resolutions Committee on Friday morning.

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"During the course of the pre-convention period many of the delegates sought out certain of the individuals who were leaders of the Communist Party in the New York area for purposes of discussing political questions with them and for purposes of finding out the reasons why individuals

took the various views that were taken. For example the afore-mentioned [ ] had lunch at one time with JOE CLARK and [ ] of the editorial staff of the 'Daily Worker.' This lunch was held on Thursday, the 8th day before the opening of the Convention. At this time JOE CLARK discussed with [ ] the recent events which had resulted from the publication in the Soviet Union of an article in the magazine 'Soviet Russia' condemning JOE CLARK for his apparent anti-Soviet statements in the 'Daily Worker' and calling attention to the Communist world of the deviations which JOE CLARK had made from the orthodox Communist position with regard to the role that the Soviet Union had played in Hungary and in Poland. CLARK defended his position before [ ] pointing out that he had not taken a position which was fundamentally anti-Soviet, but had only pointed out that it was an error on the part of the Soviet Union to engage in activities which could be criticized by other people throughout the world to have allowed the conditions to be created under which the unfortunate developments in Hungary and Poland were made possible. CLARK also complained that he had had no advance knowledge of the publication of this article attacking him and that he felt that it was unfair that he be singled out from amongst the several people on the 'Daily Worker's' staff who have taken a similar position and who were not mentioned in the 'Soviet Russia' article. He showed [ ] a cable gram which had just arrived that morning from

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Moscow in answer to a question which had been sent by the 'Daily Worker's' staff for further information with regard to the article. In answer to this question they had sent him several excerpted quotations which stated simply what had already been carried in the metropolitan newspapers at that time, namely that JOE CLARK had been attacked for his position and that this position was characterized as fundamentally anti-Soviet. During the course of this discussion CLARK and [ ] made clear to [ ] that their main interest in the forthcoming Convention was the assertion once and for all of the independence of the Communist Party from any other foreign organization and making clear to the American Communists and to the Communists abroad as well as to public in general that under no circumstances could the American Communist Party be considered to get its point of view with regard to any political question from the influences of Moscow or any other international Communist agency. It was felt by CLARK that this was the minimum position of the group of which he had been identified during the pre-convention period. Later on during the Convention, this position was further stressed by such individuals as JOHN GATES and GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, who led the floor the position which CLARK had been actually working for during the pre-convention discussion and the 'Daily Worker.'

"Also observed to be meeting during this period were [ ] and [ ] who had been meeting

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with certain representatives of the so-called 'left caucus' and who during the course of this caucus had an interview in the 'Daily Worker' office with JESUS COLON, who had been elected to head the slate of delegates from the New York City area, he being a Puerto Rican employee of the 'Daily Worker' office, and a noted poet of Puerto Rican origin.

[ ] mentioned previously, as a delegate from the Mexican-American community of Los Angeles to the National Convention, was not at all impressed by the position which JESUS COLON took which was evidently too intellectual for the relatively anti-intellectual point of view which [ ] [ ] represents within the Communist Party. [ ] indicated that from his point of view it would be impossible to support as had been suggested, JESUS COLON for the National Committee. Later on as was seen during the course of the Convention proceedings [ ] participated in an active fight to seat as a member of the National Committee, [ ] who was the other candidate for the National Committee from Puerto Rican extraction and who had the general support of the left caucus of the New York State organization.

"Delegates began arriving in more significant numbers around Thursday, February 8, 1957. At this time the people who arrived at the National Committee Headquarters on 16th Street were directed by the elevator operator to go to the 2nd floor of the building where three tables of registration was set up marked 'midwest,' 'east coast' and

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'west coast.' At these tables individuals were present who had before them complete lists of the various delegates from the different delegations to be represented and who upon presentation of information issued delegates cards to the various applying delegates for the Convention. The delegates were then requested to go to any of the several points on the 6th or 7th floor where committee meetings would be held at the appointed time, these temporary committee meetings being for the purpose of inaugurating as early as possible the various activities of the Convention. One such meeting that was held was a meeting of the general Resolutions Committee which was a large group composed of about 30 or 40 people who met for the purpose of discussing the general organization of the Resolutions Committee and for the purpose of deciding how this organization would be broken down into specific topics. A full report of this meeting will be given later on in this report.

"It was reported by a member of the office staff of the National Committee, whose name is ESTHER \_\_\_\_\_ that by the end of Thursday over 100 people had registered and been assigned to various committees of the Convention. It was indicated at this time that an expected 302 delegates would be registering for the Convention. As a matter of fact considerably fewer than this number actually registered at the Convention as reported later in the report of the Credentials Committee which is to follow.

"Housing was available for various delegates with BEN DOBBS of the Los Angeles area being responsible for housing of California delegates who did not otherwise make arrangements. Amongst those who were known to have stayed at the specific places during the course of the Convention are the following:

[REDACTED] DOROTHY HEALEY, BILL SCHNEIDERMAN, BEN DOBBS, all stayed at the Picadilly Hotel in Times Square. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] indicated that she was staying with HOWARD and MILLICENT SELSAM, whom she indicated are presently not too active in the Party apparatus and had not in fact been invited to participate in housing delegates to the National Convention in spite of the fact that they have plenty of room in their home. As an aside it may be stated that [REDACTED] indicated during the course of the Convention that she had, prior to the Convention, a lunch meeting with BILL PATTERSON, who was a delegate to the Convention, during the course of which he indicated that BEN DAVIS' position was a position which was subscribed to and largely led by PAUL ROBESON, and that PAUL ROBESON's position was as a very ardent supporter of the Soviet Union and a dyed-in-the-wool 'left caucus' member, was actually leading rather than following the position of BEN DAVIS, that in many respects during the course of the Convention, the position which was indicated as that of BEN DAVIS was really one position of PAUL ROBESON, who was not present as a delegate or as an observer at the Convention, but whose influence

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throughout the proceedings according to DECCA in her report of what BILL PATTERSON had told her, his influence was extremely important and the preparation of the point of view as presented by FOSTER and DAVIS of the 'left caucus.' Among other delegates whose whereabouts were known to the various delegate members, [ ] stayed with his brother-in-law, [ ] at [ ] at the corner of [ ] in Harlem. His wife is [ ] who has for sometime now, together with [ ] been inactive in the Party, [ ] having been dropped from the Party shortly after leaving Detroit and having never been reinstated by the Party or the Labor Youth League. The reason why [ ] was dropped from the Party was explained during the course of the Convention by HELEN WINTER to [ ] with whom she is quite well acquainted, as being directly related to the fact that [ ] had in the first place refused to obey a decision which had been made with regard to his not going to the meeting in Prague of the World Youth Federation where he had originally been selected as a delegate and where the Labor Youth League had decided not to send him after it was known that the FBI had decided to pick up his passport. He violated the specific instructions of the Party in attempting to board the ship and was as a result on his failure to return to Detroit, immediately after this event dropped from the Party and was never reinstated. Subsequent to this period he had

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taken employment with the Tass agency, the Russian news agency, as a teletype operator on the night shift and in this capacity found that it was impossible for him to even attempt to get reinstated in the Party and therefore was unable to even consider the Party or the possibility of applying to clear up the question since the Tass agency employees are under specific instructions by their employers to, under no circumstances, engage in any kind of political activity and political questions, this being an understanding, which as [ ] explained, the Tass agency has with the State Department with regard to the political activities of any employees of the Tass agency in this country. [ ]

[ ] in his capacity is basically concerned with sending information which is selected for him by his employer, [ ]

[ ] and [ ] whose first name is not known, the basic body of this material being in addition to the ordinary news which is generally received and sent by most news agencies, a considerable emphasis is placed, according to [ ] on commercial information having to do with the rise and fall of the stock market or the particular status of certain commodities in which the Soviet Union is interested or engaged in commerce on the world market. It would appear that the Tass agency is supplying information to the Russian government and to its various export agencies of particular concern to them in their dealings on world market questions. This information is not sent in code but is often translated

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into Russian prior to being sent. [ ] is familiar with the Russian language, having worked in this field during his college days and having done considerable translation from Russian into English of certain technical articles which had been widely disseminated in this country. At the present time, [ ]

[ ] is not employed and is drawing unemployment compensation. It is her plan that in the immediate future she will not take employment; however, if she should decide to return to work she is considering the possibility of doing free lance translation work on technical articles. An article by her on the question of the fight against cancer in the Soviet Union recently appeared in the 'National Guardian' under the name of [ ]. This was a commercial piece of work for which she received a \$50.00 remuneration from the 'National Guardian.' Neither [ ] nor his wife have a scientific background; however, both are interested in technical questions because of the fact that there is a large market in this country for translations from the Russian into English of any type of scientific article, whether in the field of chemistry or in any other fields.

The Convention got under way on Friday morning (2/9/57) with meetings being held in the building of the National Committee Headquarters located on 16th Street in New York on a relative informal basis with no general session at this time. The various sessions that were held included meetings of the basic general resolutions committee of the

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Convention, the general constitution committee of the Convention, and various smaller subcommittees such as the Trade Union Committee and so on, which met on various parts of the 6th and 7th floor of the National Headquarters building. During the course of these sessions the following report may be made with regard to the Resolutions Committee meeting which took place on the 6th floor of the National Committee Headquarters:

"The meeting was opened by SID STEIN acting in behalf of the resident committee which had been working on resolutions prior to the Convention. He pointed out that a great deal of material had been accumulated with respect to the various proposals which had already been made from the various state and county conventions, and that much of this material had already been incorporated by the National Committee into certain specific amendments to draft resolutions and the rewritings of sections of the draft resolution. He felt that the purpose of this organizing meeting was to exchange the views of the various delegates with regard to how the draft resolution should be approached and what procedure should be used in considering the specific method of revising the draft resolution to meet the needs and interest of feelings of the delegates of the Convention. He also felt that in addition to this question this meeting should be concerned with handling the whole problem of the method by which the committee would formulate its work and report out to the Convention floor its findings. He indicated that in advance of the present

session the committee up until that time had consisted of himself, that is SID STEIN, [REDACTED] NIMMY SPARKS, MIKE RUSSO and DOROTHY HEALEY. He pointed out that at the present time the original draft resolution now stands improved by the addition of three National Committee amendments which had been widely disseminated, a new section on the international question, new sections on the question of political action during the post election period, a new section on a revised treatment on the Negro question, a new draft resolution on the question of trade unionism and the relationship of the Communist to the labor movement, and a new section on the question of the treatment of social Democrats and other Marxist parties outside the U.S. STEIN had been previously notified during the course of conversation that many of the delegates from the California delegation was specifically interested in taking a novel approach to the whole question of discussing the draft resolution in terms of a well underdraft resolution but rather discussing special topics individually outside of the frame work of the draft resolution itself. STEIN took exceptions to this approach, pointing out that if we take this position we will have to deal with the proposition that the whole Party has been discussing, policy in terms of the draft resolution in general; however, he pointed out on the other hand many of the delegates who are coming to the Convention are sure that some of the questions that are raised in the draft resolution have not

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been adequately treated in discussion. The question then is which items can be handled by the Convention, and which items can afford to be left over for later consideration. STEIN went on to say that it is the earnest entreaty of the National Committee, which had been meeting for two days previous to the calling together of this meeting, that there be no omnibus discussion of the draft resolution in general; that even the reports of the general secretary and chairman of the Party would not treat with generalities regarding the character of the draft resolution or prejudice the attitude with regard to the draft resolution which would be adopted by the delegates. Decisions, said STEIN, must be made at the National Convention in terms of specific topics, and if decisions on certain specific topics cannot be made, these must be the subject of further discussion after the Convention is over by the National Committee and by the rank and file of the Party and perhaps will have to become the subject of referendum. STEIN proposed that the following six subcommittees be created for the Resolutions Committee, first a committee on National and International situations, discussing the immediate tasks ahead, the problem of political evaluation of the relationship of forces in terms of National and International situations, the struggle for peace and the organization of an anti-monopoly coalition in this country. Subcommittee number two was to be concerned with the Negro question. This, he

pointed out, was not to be a theoretical discussion group but a group aimed at organizing a proposal for specific national and state conferences which were to be held on a basis of a recommendation of the National Committee within the six months immediately following after the National Convention, these conferences to be called for the purpose of working specific techniques of handling the problem of the Negro fight for liberation, etc., and the contribution which the Communists had to make to this fight. The third subcommittee was to deal with the Trade Union question. STEIN pointed out that this subcommittee was already meeting and had already gotten underway at the time of the general resolutions meeting, with such individuals as MANNY BLUM from Indiana, taking the leading role in the organization of this committee. The fourth committee was the subcommittee on the American road to socialism, which was to deal with the whole question of peaceful transition to socialism and the particular aspects of the road to socialism in this country as it differs from those in other countries. The fifth committee which STEIN recognized to be the largest and the most important, probably, certainly the most interesting of any of the committees of the Convention, was the committee on the estimate of the Party, which was to take up the whole question of the nature of the errors which had been made in the past, the dangers which lie ahead, and the whole problem of what can be expected from the Party during the period immediately confronting it. It was pointed out that the three amendments

which had been made to the draft resolution by the National Committee had been turned over to the Constitution Committee which would be taken up in turn to their subcommittees rather than being handled by this committee on the estimate of the Party. Although there was a certain amount of overlapping here in function, this committee on the estimate of the Party was concerned mainly with the theoretical aspects of the problem while the Constitution Committee was concerned with the concrete formulations as to the road in the future of specific members of the Party took such questions as the right of dissent, the right of taking action contrary to the opinion of the Party, etc. The sixth subcommittee of the Convention was a Miscellaneous Resolutions Committee and this committee would be concerned with such questions as the Jewish question, the Hungarian question, and so on. It was noted immediately that the position of this committee on the list made it almost obvious that the sixth committee, being the last on the list, would never have a chance to report, therefore certain important controversial questions could never hit the floor in terms of decision. This was generally recognized by the group, many of whom in spite of the fact that they recognized this question, were quite willing to go along with the idea of leaving such 'hot potatoes' as the Hungarian question, the Polish question, and the Jewish question up in the air for further consideration after the Convention. [redacted] who participated in the work of the Resolutions Committee, took the floor,

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pointing out the position of the California State delegation with regard to the draft resolution. She pointed out specifically that while the California State Convention had recognized the forward direction that was taken by the draft resolution they also went on to point out that they could not specifically take a general position towards all parts of the resolution because most of the attention of the California Convention had been devoted, as was the attention of most other conventions devoted, to the fourth section of the draft resolution with very little discussion on the first three questions. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] went on to point out that she found many inconsistencies and contradictions in the draft resolution which could not be answered in terms of simply revising or reorganizing this resolution; that therefore she felt that in the interest of building a unified Party the whole draft resolution should simply be replaced by a series of specific resolutions dealing with specific questions as nearly as possible. She felt that this was the general feeling of many of the people on the rank and file and should therefore be given serious consideration. The question, she said, of how we can achieve unity must be answered in terms of opening debate to the membership on the real issues. This can be done only when the Party is ready to have answers ready to agree on certain questions and cannot be done in terms of good, vague, contradictory remarks which say one thing on one page and

another thing which is the opposite on another page. [redacted]

[redacted] who was present in the room, challenged [redacted]

[redacted] to show where she found specific inconsistencies and contradictions, and [redacted] went on to point out that with regard to any of the questions, for example the failure of the draft resolution to even use the word "crisis" during the entire question of characterizing the condition of the Party in this country at the present time, she felt there was a contradiction and a hesitancy and an inconsistency in the draft resolution. She then went on to point out that the section of the Party achievements during the recent period was obviously an unrealistic attempt to balance the section on the weakness and errors of the Party so as to appease certain individuals who are still holding on to their sectarian position. She then went on to point out that there were contradictions in the economics situation discussion on page 42 of the draft resolution wherein on the one hand they say that the losses of the Party were inevitable and on the other hand they implied that the losses of the Party were due to the very incorrect work which was done by the Party leadership during this period. She then gave the floor to

[redacted] who was a delegate who served on the Resolutions Committee, who suggested that future discussion be limited to a five minute period within this Resolutions Committee discussion.

[redacted] is from Illinois. He said that the major emphasis of their Convention was in terms of the draft resolution

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and that the main line of the draft resolution had been endorsed. The next speaker was [ ] who pointed out that the problem here was one of organizing a method of handling the questions and that he particularly was not concerned as to whether the draft resolution was discussed or any other specific things were discussed but he was very concerned that the items which had been listed by SID STEIN actually be considered and that positions be taken with regard to them. The next speaker was BERT NELSON from the State of Washington, who was also a member of the Resolutions Committee. NELSON pointed out that the role of the Party in its mass line is the number one question facing the Resolutions Committee. The question is how shall we fight politically. How shall we deal on the position which is taken partly by the draft resolution? How shall we go on from there to strengthen the position of the Party in terms of this position? After another speaker from Ohio, [ ] again took the floor and took the position that we had to come out before the Convention in terms of a resolution based on the draft resolution. Otherwise we would deprive the Party of a consistent and unified line which was very much required in this period. A young Negro woman from the State of Washington named [ ] then took the floor. She indicated that her husband is a longshoreman and that she had left him home with her children and that it was necessary for her to return as soon as possible to her family, and that she was not too interested

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in the theoretical aspect of the discussion but wanted to get down to cases, the problem is how shall we do the work of this committee. Another speaker named [redacted] also from Washington, backed up [redacted] on this question and proposed that on the question of procedure we immediately get down to the question of organizing the work of the committee and asked the specific question as to where the problems of women and the problems of youth would be discussed, pointing out that in the course of their State Convention this had been a very important question and that she felt that this could not be left to the end of the Convention where it would not be adequately handled. DOROTHY HEALEY then spoke, from the State of California, saying that we must be aware of the fact that it will be impossible to formulate definitive statements in every one of our resolutions. We must provide a mechanism for review of those residual and untreated questions which will not be considered by the Convention due to lack of time or due to lack of quality. MANNY BLUM from Indiana then rose to state that the Indiana Convention had during its course of discussion endorsed specific resolutions on specific questions, but that the Illinois Convention, which had discussed essentially the same material, had endorsed amended versions of the draft resolution itself. He feels now that in the light of the development that the main object of this Convention is to correct the line of the draft resolution and if there are conflicts of direction

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within the draft resolution that this must be ironed out during the course of the work of the various committees. After further discussion along these lines the resolutions committee finally agreed to accept the proposal which had been made by SID STEIN with regard to the organization of the committees, and amongst others on the committee, the following assignments were made: On resolutions committee number one, which was the committee concerned with the International question, [ ] and MIKE RUSSO served. On resolutions committee number two, on the Negro question, JAMES JACKSON and [ ] were amongst the members. On resolutions committee number three, MANNY BLUM was present, this was the resolutions committee of the Trade Union question. Among others on the resolutions committee number four on the American road to socialism was [ ] who served throughout the Convention, by the way, was an important person not only on this committee but also served an important part with respect to the question of bringing in the various observers from the Civil Liberties Union and other observers from the fellowship of reconciliation and so on. It was revealed during the course of discussion that [ ] was responsible for meeting with [ ] and [ ] on the original idea of bringing the observers to this Convention. [ ] also served on the pre-Convention period as the chief translator of the various messages which

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were received from the foreign Communist Parties such as the Russian Communist Party, the Chinese Communist Party, etc. On resolutions subcommittee number five, the following members were observed: WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, who acted as chairman of this group, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] BERT NELSON and [REDACTED] On committee number six, on miscellaneous questions, those present included DOXIE WILKERSON, who served as one of the chairmen of the committee, [REDACTED] of San Bernardino, [REDACTED] who was interested with the resolution having to do with the Jewish question, and [REDACTED] MORRIS U. SCHAPPES was one of the co-chairmen of this committee. This concluded the official business of the Convention for Friday evening and the various delegates dispersed.

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"On Saturday morning, February 10, at Chateau Gardens, on 2nd Avenue in the City of New York, the Convention of the Communist Party of the USA, the 16th Convention, was called to order officially by FRED FINE in the name of the temporary organizing committee of the Convention.

"With colors on the head table of the Convention, FRED FINE called on [REDACTED] from New York to come forward to lead the Convention in the Star Spangled Banner. Delegates rose and proceeded with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner.

"The next item on the order of business of the Convention was a welcoming address of very short duration

given by GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, acting in the name of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party. He pointed out during the course of his address that if he were in city hall or if the Communist Party had representatives there that there would be official representation greeting other visitors to the city, an obvious reference to the recent visit of King Saud of Arabia. During the course of these remarks he indicated that while the Communist Party has no great love for SAUD and the oil interests which he represents; that they would not have given such an obvious so-called raciest time to their refusal to meet with SAUD when he visited the city. BLAKE CHARNEY indicated that this is the first Convention of the Communist Party since December 19, 1950 and that this Convention will have to strike a spark for unity and for the strength of the Party. The remarks, although brief, were loudly applauded. The next speaker was WILLIAM FOSTER, who indicated that he would not deliver an address at this time and would reserve his remarks for later, but called the attention of the delegates to the importance of this National Convention, and particularly to the attitude of the 'book' of this Convention, pointing out the intense interest that had already been generated in 'free Convention articles and the 'perfect' Convention of a large representative of the press. This is not, said FOSTER, just another Party meeting here, but part of a whole world wide movement for socialism. You must not believe, he said,

the stories of pro-Stalinist and anti-Moscow groups operating within the Party. We must avoid splitting because this is what the capitalists want. This will be, said FOSTER, a unity Convention. FINE again took the floor and thanked the management of the hall, pointing out that over 100 other halls and hotels had refused to allow the Communist Party to meet in their facilities. He then entertained a motion to dispense with the reading of the call of the Convention and then he called on the temporary rules committee to come forward to aid in the organization of the Convention. The temporary rules committee was represented by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and CARL WINTER, as had been previously reported. They did most of the work prior to the Convention in organizing the agenda and the rules of the Convention. CARL WINTER took the chair and proposed that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT be elected to chairman of the organizing committee Convention. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was elected unanimously by a voice vote. CARL WINTER then went on to report in behalf of the temporary rules committee, his first proposal being that NAT GANLEY of Michigan be elected parliamentarian of the Convention. He then proceeded to set up four tellers for the Convention, these four tellers being [redacted] of Michigan, [redacted] of Illinois, [redacted] of New Jersey, and [redacted] of New York. The four proposed tellers were elected. He then proposed that four secretaries be elected for the Convention; they are as follows: ESTER: [redacted] of the National Office, GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT of

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Illinois, a delegate by the name of [ ] from Montana and [ ] of Colorado. WINTER then proposed that there be a temporary seating of all delegates now in the room bearing delegates' cards until such time as the Credentials Committee could report. It may be stated parenthetically that in the preparation of the agenda, considerable discussion had been held with regard to the possibility of a challenge being made to the seating of delegates at this point in the Convention. LIGHTFOOT and WINTER were particularly concerned about the possibility of a challenge coming from the DAVIS group (that is the 'left caucus' of the Convention) because of the fact that a discrepancy had been uncovered in the counting of the ballots of the New York State Convention delegates' election. During this period it was discovered that there were twenty ballots which were in doubt which, according to the 'left caucus' could easily have effected the status of the last three delegates elected in the group which would have meant the election of three pro-FOSTER-DAVIS delegates rather than the election of three pro-CHARNEY-GATES delegates. During the course of this discussion it was decided that in the event that DAVIS did take the floor, or some other representative of the 'left caucus' took the floor, challenging the seating of these delegates, that this question would be referred to the Credentials Committee and that the challenge would be ruled out of order in view of the fact that the Credentials

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Committee had not at that time had an opportunity to investigate the question; however, this was unnecessary since at this point, no challenge was made of the proposal to temporarily seat all delegates with delegates' cards. The Convention then proceeded with its business. The next order of business that was proposed was a reading by CARL WINTER acting as the reporting representative of the temporary rules committee of the proposed agenda of the Convention and the proposed rules of the Convention. It should be noted here that the agenda which was proposed differs from previous agendas of previous conventions and that a time table is appended and points specifically stated at which the various main items of the Convention are to be taken up. In other words, specific time was allowed for each particular part of the Convention's work. This was in an effort to guarantee that as much as possible of the very heavy agenda which was proposed could in fact be consonated by the Convention. Continuous reference was made during the course of the Convention to the proceedings of this time table and a real effort was made by the Presiding Rules Committee to as far as possible keep to the original schedule, although of course because of a tremendous volume of work proposed on the agenda it was impossible to actually complete all of the work of the proposed Convention. It should also be noted that during the course of the agenda the report of the constitution subcommittee number one on name and form was advanced from its logical place which would normally

have been on Monday to a position early Sunday morning. Actually the report of the committee on name and form was placed in this position by the Rules and Procedures committee because it had already been agreed upon by all of the various elements in the left, right and center of the Convention that the resolution on Name and Form would have the support of all of the leading elements of the National Committee and all of the various elements in the various caucuses. Since this was in fact a unity resolution, it was agreed therefore to bring it on the floor as early as possible in the Convention to lend a good tone of unity to the rest of the work of the Convention. It was further agreed by the Rules Committee meeting, in executive session, prior to the Convention, that in the event any member of the subcommittee (name and form subcommittee) desired to bring out any alternative minority proposal or in the event that it appeared at the last minute that there would not be unanimous support for the proposed resolution, that the work of this committee would suddenly become 'incomplete' and therefore the report would not be made on Sunday morning but advanced to a later date so as not to in any way hamper the possibility for unity at this Convention; however, this was unnecessary and the proceedings went on as originally planned. It should further be noted that during the course of the organizing session on Saturday, on Saturday morning, and during the course of the Saturday afternoon session, which was devoted to greetings from foreign

Communist organizations, as well as a key note address by EUGENE DENNIS and an address by the National chairman of the Party, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, actually no decisions were made by the Convention. The purpose of this Saturday being devoted to general discussion and consideration of greetings, etc. was to give the Convention an opportunity to go into committee meetings on Saturday night so that on Sunday morning the work of the Convention could take the form of specific proposals from rank and file committees of the delegates to the Convention. All the work of the Convention was done through these committees and the entire agenda was so organized as to make it possible for the committees to report out their findings to be acted upon by the Convention. As a result Saturday had to be devoted fundamentally to organizational rather than to policy questions. It should be noted with regard to the rules of the Convention that these rules are fundamentally similar to the rules which had been previously used at Communist Party Conventions in the past except for certain important deviations. In the first place a rule that was present in this group which indicated in accordance with rule ten of the Convention rules that those delegations which were financially unable to send an entire delegation would divide the full voting strength that they were entitled to, amongst those delegates present. As a result of this rule each delegate from California was given 1 and 2/3 votes; the delegate from Colorado was given 2 votes, and one of the other delegates got an extra vote.

This vote rating not only applied to decisions of the Convention, but also applied to the balloting for National Committee delegation and had an important effect upon the nature of the decisions which were made, especially in regard to the question of the election of the National Committee delegates at large which were to succeed the outgoing National Committee of the Party. Having read both the agenda and the rules, CARL WINTER then proposed for adopting the rules first as read. BEN DAVIS at this time, rose to speak on a question with regard to the agenda but was ruled out of order because the agenda was not being discussed at this time, but rather the rules. ARCHIE BROWN then took the floor to amend the rules to state that when notice has been given by any particular subcommittee of the Convention that a minority report is to be presented in addition to a majority report that this minority report be allowed to follow the majority report without any further discussion so that any discussion that did take place would be in the light of both reports rather than one or the other of the reports. This proposed amendment was accepted by the temporary rules committee and incorporated in the rules. An amendment was then made with regard to rule number eight on the question of substitute motions that a substitute for the whole shall be entertained if the main motion is voted down. Since this was not in accord with the original feelings that the Convention should not be permitted to do the work of the committee, this amendment was not entertained and therefore the only method

that was made possible of amending the main line of any committee's report was the alternative which was given to the Convention of voting down any such report as the Convention found unacceptable.

"A delegate named [redacted] from New York then spoke against the amendment which was proposed as an negation of the work of the committees. AL LANNON represented the 'left group' throughout the Convention, spoke in favor of this proposal to being out substitutes on the floor. ARCHIE BROWN spoke in favor of making this amendment as well. A delegate named [redacted] from Schenectady took the floor stating that the Convention cannot do the work of the committees and therefore this had to be voted down. The amendment was voted upon as such and lost by a vote of 122 to 109. AL LANNON then proposed that an amendment be made to rule 12 with regard to the number of secretaries and tellers to supply four additional tellers to aid in the work of the committee. This was passed by a voice vote. The four tellers were later appointed and they included [redacted] from San Francisco, who served as a special teller for the California delegation and she used a conversion table which was prepared by [redacted] at the request of BILL SCHNEIDERMAN for purposes of converting the vote of the delegates from California by a factor of 1 and 2/3 votes each.

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"Having completed the various amendments and taken

action with regard to various proposals on amendments to the rules of the Convention, a motion was made to finally approve the rules as proposed and as amended and it was accepted almost unanimously with AL LANNON recording his abstention which was to test this opposition to the proposed rules.

"The next order of business was the adoption of the agenda to the Convention and B. DAVIS again took the floor to object specifically to the manner of conduct to the agenda. At this point he proposed that immediately after the speeches of DENNIS and FOSTER which were to be made that afternoon that the general discussion of the entire line of the draft resolution and on the reports of FOSTER and DENNIS. SID STEIN took the floor to point out that this proposed amendment, which is being made by BEN DAVIS, has been discussed thoroughly and for some length at the National Committee meeting immediately preceding the Convention and had been voted down by the National Committee and has in no way contributed to the progress of the Convention and has in fact opened the possibility for a serious rift in the thinking of the delegates who have been talking only in terms of generalities and not in terms of specific issues and that therefore the delegates should vote against this proposition. DAVIS made it clear during the course of his discussion that he considered that this vote which was about to be taken on this proposal was in the nature of the test of the strength of the 'left caucus'.

Although he did ~~not~~ say this he worded his speech in support of his proposal in such a way as to indicate that those who were voting with him would essentially be considered the hard core of the left caucus throughout this Convention. He also called for a counting of the votes on this particular amendment and when the vote was finally taken it was decided that 87 delegates voted in favor of the proposal and 162 voted against this proposal. This was about the highest vote that the left caucus got on any single question during the course of the Convention thereafter, when there was a clear decision to be made between a proposal that was obviously a principal position of the FOSTER-DAVIS group on the floor at the Convention.

"The proportion which was seen here was approximately two to one opposed to the FOSTER-DAVIS caucus. This proposal was typical of the proposals made subsequent to this point.

"Immediately after this amendment the proposal which had been previously made to appoint four additional tellers was acted upon by the Rules Committee which existed in addition to the delegate from California,  who was previously named, a representative from New York, Massachusetts, and one from Minnesota who served throughout the Convention as tellers. These delegates were unnamed and unknown to the observer. Further discussion on the agenda ensued with TOM DENNIS, a young Negro from Michigan, rising to suggest that the report on the Credentials Committee be

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moved to a position on Sunday morning rather than waiting until relatively late on Monday to be discussed.

"After some discussion this amendment was agreed to by the committee, although in fact the Credentials Committee did not report out earlier but rather later than the time that was originally scheduled in the first agenda since the work of the Credentials Committee became complicated by a series of difficulties, objections and cases which had to be actually studied by the Credentials Committee as reported later in this discussion.

[redacted] from Illinois then took the floor proposing an amendment to the agenda that the election discussion and the preparation of rules for election to the National Committee be moved to Monday from its previously planned position.

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"FRED FINE took the floor against this proposal and a number of independent delegates took the floor in favor of the proposal. It was finally decided to go along with the [redacted] amendment and this was carried by the Convention.

"An amendment was then brought up to advance the report on the Appeals Commission to Sunday from its position late in the Convention proceedings. This amendment was lost.

"BILL PATTERSON then raised the question that the Civil Liberties Committee also be allowed the right to include civil rights questions. He withdrew this question when it was pointed out that there was a Resolutions Committee which was capable of handling civil rights questions.

"A delegate from Washington named [redacted] then took the floor indicating that her delegation was particularly concerned with the youth and women question and that they felt that more time should be devoted by the agenda to this subject. This was not answered from the floor and instead the next speaker arose to move the previous question. This was [redacted] who indicated that he felt that there had been too much time wasted by the Convention already on this question of setting up the agenda.

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"The agenda as amended was passed then by a voice vote of the delegates and the next order of business was taken up.

"The next proposal was made by FRED FINE, speaking in behalf of the organizing committee of the Convention, which proposed that a group of observers be seated in on the Convention floor. It was pointed out that during the course of this discussion that NORMAN THOMAS and [redacted] had suggested that it would be a great aid in the struggle of the Communist Party for its right to operate as a legal organization in this country if observers were present representing various independent civil liberties and peace points of view. It was pointed out that these people were prominent progressives and civil liberties advocates who are fundamentally non-Communist in their position but who had from time to time, supported the civil liberties of Communists who were defending themselves against Smith Act prosecution, etc.

"After considerable discussion, it was agreed that these observers be seated. The observers include the former president of St. Johns College, together with the editor of the 'Catholic Worker', an individual from St. Lawrence College, a leader of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an executive of the New York ACLU, the executive secretary of the War Resisters League, people from the Conscientious Objector's movement, individuals from the New York School for Social Research and a few university professors and civil rights attorneys.

"A question was raised from the floor by members of the left delegation that obviously no effort had been made to seat prominent labor or Negro elements amongst these observers. Specifically mentioned in this group were such people as W. E. DU BOIS and PAUL ROBESON. The answer which was made to this question by AL BLUMBERG, who had prepared the group of observers was that in fact many of these people had been invited but were interested but not able to attend the Convention because they were out of town. He pointed out further during the course of this discussion that the original proposal made by NORMAN THOMAS and  had included a number of other people, including THOMAS himself, who was unfortunately out of town and unable to attend the Convention.

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"HELEN WINTER from Michigan then rose and supported the move to seat the observers as an aid to legalization of the Party. She pointed out that if the Convention so desired they could at anytime go into executive session excluding any observers that they wanted to exclude if the situation became embarrassing.

"AL LANNON, representing the left caucus rose to object to the method of approaching the entire question of bringing the observers to the hall and then recommending

that they be seated as a kind of "squeeze play" which was being introduced by the members of the NC who were anxious to have this proposal accepted.

"A delegate named BLAIR from Wisconsin spoke in favor of the motion to seat the observers. He pointed out that we are not an inhibited group of people at the very best and we should not in any way be concerned with people listening in on our conversation.

"JAMES FORD then spoke against the proposition to seat these observers. Taking the position that while these are good people fundamentally there are too many important organizational problems which must be discussed and ought to be discussed in privacy. Opening the debate, he felt would be in some way hampered by the presence of observers of this kind.

"CHARLES NUSSER from New Jersey then spoke, indicating that the nature of the discussion and the need for security which was facing the convention endangers the entire convention if these observers are seated.

from San Francisco, California, who may be described as approximately 25-30, about 5'7" with glasses and a very rudy complexion, very volatile in his speech, who indicated that he is presently associated with the AF of L work and further that he had previously been active in the

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Labor Youth League. This delegate spoke pointing out that there is no need to hide from the FBI by preventing these observers to speak because the FBI people know us all pretty well.

"Another speaker, [REDACTED] from New

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Jersey indicated that we must protect our delegates. He stated that he does not want to wash his dirty linen in public. Then B. DAVIS surprised the convention greatly by speaking in favor of the motion to seat the observers. He felt that ours is a party convention, which is trying to do something new here. The proposal he felt had faults. There were not enough representatives of working class people and of Negroes in the group of observers but the idea was fundamentally sound. We should of course temper our words in this convention. This is not a fundamental question of legality, he said, but one which is moving in the right direction and should therefore be supported. This ended the discussion and the proposal to seat the observers was overwhelming carried.

"BILL PATTERSON then spoke asking that the W. E. DUBOIS and PAUL ROBESON be called upon to attend this Convention as observers in addition and it was pointed out that these two had already been invited and were unable to attend the convention.

"The next point of discussion of the organization of the convention was the preparation of committees which had to be organized to do the work of the convention. At previous discussions in the course of the rules and procedure committee, it had been decided that rather than bring up each committee individually with the proposals on these questions, that a table of organization be presented in terms of size of each committee and the representation of each committee be handed out to each delegation leader and that the chairman and secretaries of these various sub-committees be read off for group approval. It was pointed out by CARL WINTER in presenting this proposal that extensive effort had been made to contact the various caucus leaders and various leading points of view and heads of delegations to guarantee that all the main points of view with regard to any question would be represented adequately in any sub-committee working on any of the other convention's problems. It was also pointed out that preliminary committees had been in existence for some time and the maximum of work had already been done to try to work out these committees' tasks.

"If there is any need to make changes said WINTER in the construction of these committees, it should be brought out that the list is not an easily changed list because it

represents a broad and balanced point of view and the result of a serious effort to get adequate representation from every view on every committee. Amongst the committees' leaders which were proposed the following were indicated: [redacted]

who was mistakenly read off to the convention as [redacted]

[redacted] because of the fact that the people who put her on as co-chairman of the Credentials Committee did not know her last name. She was selected as one of the two chairman of the Credentials Committee.

"The Resolutions Committee was co-chaired by SID STEIN and JIM JACKSON and included amongst the other sub-committees in addition to those names already mentioned was [redacted] of Michigan, former member of the Murray Body Local of the UAW as a member of the Trade Union Committee.

"On the Constitution Committee, the Chairmen were FRED FINE and TOM DENNIS, DENNIS being from Michigan. The secretary of the Constitution Committee was LOUISE TODD LAMBERT of San Francisco. On the Constitution Sub-Committee #1 on name and form of the party LIL GATES was the chairman of the Sub-Committee. The Constitution Sub-Committee #2 on Vanguard Role and Democratic Centralism, LOUISE TODD LAMBERT was chairman of this group.

"Sub-Committee Number 3 of the Constitution Committee which was concerned with the preamble and purposes of the Party

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had as its secretary ARCHIE BROWN, an outgoing member of the National Committee from California. It was pointed out during the course of the convention that the delegates who worked most closely with ARCHIE BROWN were very dissatisfied with his methods of work during the course of the convention and with his role on the National Committee prior to the convention. As a result, there was little California support for his candidacy to re-election to the National Committee and he was the only one of the four people who were nominated for positions on the National Committee to run at large who were not successfully elected to this job.

"The fourth sub-committee of the Constitution Committee which was concerned with the question of rights and duties of members, had as one of its Chairmen, TOM DENNIS of Michigan.

"The Leadership and Elections Committee which was concerned with the future leadership of the Party immediately arising out of the convention, was co-chaired by [REDACTED] of the outgoing National Committee and HELEN WINTER of Michigan. The secretary of this committee is [REDACTED]

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"The head of the Save-Our-Press Committee which was concerned with the whole problem of whether the 'Daily Worker' would continue or become a weekly paper was JOHN GATES assisted in the co-chairmanship by GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT, with

BILL PATTERSON acting as Secretary of this committee.

"On the Plan-~~of~~ Work Committee, STEVE NELSON was appointed chairman and on the Appeals Committee MORRIS CHILDS was appointed chairman.

"The Presiding and Rules Committee has previously been indicated and consists of one representative for each major delegation, plus the National Secretariat which are as follows: FOSTER, DENNIS, DAVIS, GATES, FINE, and WINTER (CARL). This gave the convention a Rules and Procedure Committee of approximately 30 people which was a plan that had come about as a better plan than several other possibilities for electing a Rules and Procedure Committee. During the course of the work of the Preliminary Rules Committee this had been a very serious consideration since the proposal of FRED FINE which was that all the chairmen and secretaries of all the subcommittees constitute a Rules and Procedure Committee was obviously unacceptable because it produced a committee of over sixty people and since the alternative proposal which was to select a 'representative' group from amongst the delegates might merely produce a great deal of debate and discussion on the floor from people who would immediately be joking for a position on this all-important committee, which actually ran the course of the convention.

"After proposing these various committees, WINTER went on to indicate that a schedule of organization existed which was based on the size of the various delegations. He pointed out further that while these committees are extremely important, the leaders of the committees are not policy makers but they only act in the interest of the committee as a whole.

"The report on organization was then proposed and accepted and the next order of business consisted of a short memorial representation which was given by [redacted] in behalf of those leaders of the Party who had died since the last convention. These included [redacted]

[redacted] ISRAEL AMTER, Mother ELLA REEVE BLOOR, ANITA WHITNEY, [redacted] SAM HALL.

JIM FORD rose to add to this group the names of [redacted] and [redacted] After the memorial service was completed a telegram was read to Eisenhower calling on him to speak out in the South against the suppression of Negro rights. This ended the morning session.

"The afternoon session on Saturday began with the introduction of BURT NELSON from Washington as the Chairman of the session. The first order of business of this session was the reading of a letter from [redacted] of the French Communist Party followed by a reading of the letter from the

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Central Committee of the French Communist Party. In the course of these two letters, the attention of the convention was called to the need to avoid the pitfalls of deviations from Marxism and Leninism\*. What was needed according to the French Communists and according to [ ] was a strengthening by the American Communist Party of their ties with proletarian internationalism around the defense of the Soviet Union and the remainder of the International Socialist Movement. While no official comment was made at this time to the [ ] letter and to the letter of the French Communist Party, it was plain to see among the various delegates that the letter was not well received and was considered in many ways an infraction of the rights of the Communists present to make up their own minds with regard to policy questions. Later in the convention, as will be reported, an answer was drafted in which the reasons why the French Communist Party was wrong in its attitude was carefully explained in terms of the decisions of the convention.

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"The next order of business was a reading of a report by EUGENE DENNIS in which he rose to indicate that he was not going to attempt to make an over-all discussion or an abridged report in which he would indicate any main line or anything of the kind. He felt that the work of the convention in amending the draft resolution and bringing forward a new

constitution for the Party would set the line of the convention better than he could. He called for unity in opposition to the cold war and opposition to the oppression of the Negro people. He said that the Party must eliminate dogmatism, doctrinarism, sectarianism, and bureaucracy. He said that some of our people had misunderstood the crisis within the Party, that in struggling for improving our work, they had become hampered by concepts of factionalism and extremism. There has been a lack of flexibility on the part of certain members of the National Committee he pointed out which has almost caused a split in the Party. The rank and file and some of the leaders of the Party have combated this tendency and the task of the convention is to further combat this move towards fragmentation of the Party, because the success of these efforts will weld Party unity and will finally be in the best interest of the working class. He went on to discuss the question of name and form of the Party, pointing out that the Party has already pretty much agreed to maintain the present name and form of the Party, while leaving the question of whether or not a change should be made open for further discussion. He pointed out that the general line of the draft resolution, while greatly amended, had been largely accepted by the rank and file of the Party at this stage of the game, and

that the bulk of the Party was opposed to a political action association at the present time, but was very much in favor of an independent Vanguard organization being established. He went on to say that the main danger to the Communist Party was from Left Sectarianism. He pointed out that dogmatism and doctrinairism are still the main faults of the Party. We must renew our old ties by democratizing the Party; we must re-establish our ties with the American people. Those Party people who have just recently left the Party, according to DENNIS, are lacking in courage, and in many cases they are fine people and we must show them that we still have room for disagreement within our Party, but we have no room for factionalism in the Party. This ended his report.

"It may be added parenthetically that during the days immediately preceding the Convention, DENNIS was heard to tell several of the Party people who were in the National Committee office at the time that he was completely at a loss as to what kind of a report to make to the convention; that he had been pondering the question for weeks and had been unable to make up his mind and that during the course of an International Committee meeting he had not been able to get very much guidance as to what to say. It was apparent that he was anxious to take a position in making his report which

would be recognized by the various delegates as a strong position and at the same time he was also anxious to associate himself only with those propositions which were sure to be accepted by the Convention itself. As a result, DENNIS was placed in a very uncomfortable position of having to make a report which would mean many things to many people. He clearly was conscious of the fact that this report was different from any report which had ever been made by a secretary of the Communist Party of the United States at a convention of this Party.

"The next order of business facing the Convention were further greetings which were read by [ ] of Illinois. She read a greeting from the Communist Party of Japan which pointed out the effect of United States imperialism on the position of Japan in the Pacific, particularly attacking the American attitude with regard to the question of Okinawa. She then read a greeting from the Communist Party of USSR, which was fundamentally noncommittal in its nature and which more or less simply wished good luck to the various delegates. She read a greeting from Communist Party of Bolivia at this time and she read a personal greeting from JONNIE WILLIAMSON in which he stated that the working class at the present time in the United States needed the Communist Party and furthermore, it needs the leadership of GENE DENNIS and WILLIAM FOSTER.

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It was apparent in the tone of WILLIAMSON's remarks that were WILLIAMSON present in the United States at the present time, he would have been an active participant in the "left caucus" of this convention.

"The next order of business consisted of a reading of FOSTER's report to the convention as National Chairman, which was read to the convention by BEN DAVIS in FOSTER's behalf. This report, it was clearly stated at this outset, was not a minority report or an opposition report. It said plainly that there were amendments needed in the draft resolution, but the draft resolution itself should be adopted. The real fight, according to this report, was the fight between the proposal for a Political Action Association and the need to maintain the Communist Party. We must, according to FOSTER, reaffirm the need for the Party. It should not be transformed into something less than what it is. We cannot tolerate liquidationism. During the course of the report, the charge was made on several occasions of Titoism as being the main motivating point of view of the Gates Group and of the Blake Charney Group. The previous position which had been held by FOSTER just prior to the Convention in which the Stein-Fine Group within the National Committee were characterized as aiding and abetting the position of GATES



and BLAKE CHARNEY was notably not present in the report of FOSTER at this stage of the convention. No effort was made to identify the centrist movement within the National Committee with the Right Wing Movement within that committee at this time.

"FOSTER went on to state that we must not permit any proposition of separating Marxism from Leninism to be adopted by the Party. We cannot have, he said, National Communism or Titoism within our Party. He went on to praise [ ] for his wisdom in advising us to avoid any concept of separate roads to Socialism. Marxism-Leninism, he said, must be our guide to action, and in this respect we should study the words of wisdom of the Chinese Communists. We cannot at this time abandon the Communist Party and Marxist-Leninist ideology in favor of a Political Action Association or a mass party of socialism or national Communism or any pro-Titoist nationalist course. These he represented, were the positions which were advocated by the Right Wing operating in the New York State group. What we need at this time is more Marxism-Leninism, better Party democracy, greater participation of the membership, re-organization on local, regional, and national basis to fight for socialism, and strong fraternal relations with the other socialist parties of the world.

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"FOSTER went on to outline the main problems which he considered were facing the Party and to state his position in opposition to many of the points of view expressed in the Draft Resolution. Essentially the position which he took was the position in defense of the role which he has played in the Communist Party over the previous years.

"With the completion of FOSTER's report the general session of the convention broke up into a series of committee meetings. One such meeting was the meeting of Elections and Leadership Committee which took place next door to the Chateau Gardens in the National Theatre Building and was chaired as has been previously stated by [redacted] and HELEN WINTER with [redacted] acting as secretary. A very long report was read by [redacted] in which he rambled endlessly explaining the confused and indefinite position of the National Committee with regard to the question of what should be done on the question of future National leadership. As a result of the general discussion which he opened up in the course of this discussion which was followed by more general discussion from the floor, it was indicated that the Elections Committee had the specific task before it of working out a means by which a National Committee could be elected and a means by which the convention could decide on some method of selecting a specific leadership to arise

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from this National Committee. There were other questions too which needed to be discussed by the Election and Leadership Committee. These concerned themselves with the question of where the national center of the Party was to be located and how the National Committee was to be composed in terms of the relative strength of full-time functionaries versus workers in the field, etc.

"After his report was completed which took over an hour to consummate, [ ] took the floor and sharply criticized him for his bad organization and for his failure to come more directly to the point. It was pointed out that the work of this committee would be seriously hampered by discussions of this kind and that it was necessary to be explicit and to save the time of the committee from any harassment such as was encompassed in a report of this length. What followed was a general discussion then from the other representatives to the committee in which they indicated their particular point of view with regard to the question of leadership. It was generally agreed that the National Committee which was to be set up, should be somewhere between 50 and 75 members in size and if at all possible, at least half of this membership be from other than full-time functionaries. One of the problems that still needed to be decided by the Elections Committee was that status of those

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National Committee members who were now in prison; these include HENRY WINSTON, BOB THOMPSON, GUS HALL, IRVING POTASH, PETTIS PERRY and GIL GREEN. It was pointed out that the National Committee cannot allow any individual who is now in prison to remain on its roster because of the fact that it is generally a condition of release that these people not be engaged in any way in political affairs for some specified period immediately following their release from jail. As a result, any arrangement to make it possible for these National Committee members to once again rejoin the leadership of the Party had to be predicated on the proposition that they could not presently be added to the Party in any status whatever.

"Further, it was decided that the policy of cooperating members of the National Committee who were elected by the present National Committee or by some future committee was a bad policy and should under no circumstances be allowed to continue. It was also recognized that in the in-coming National Committee serious attention be given to the question of setting up a basis for regional representation directly on this committee, to guarantee that no New York center or any other highly concentrated center be in a position of running the Party without direct consultation with the various regions of which the Party is constructed.

"It was further stated during the course of discussion that no single individual or individuals can unify the Party from the point of view of central leadership. As a result, it was decided that the leadership of the Party would have to be a collective leadership, including the different points of view now represented in the Party and recognizing that no one person was the head of this group. This position had been taken by the National Committee in its session immediately prior to the convention, although at the time, FOSTER, DAVIS and DENNIS were not present in the National Committee meeting when the decision was taken.

"It was decided that a sub-committee be created for the purpose of establishing the procedures for nominating and balloting techniques to be used during the course of the convention proceedings. This sub-committee including the following:

[redacted] of Chicago, [redacted] from Ohio, [redacted] from Chicago, and [redacted] from San Francisco. This group was charged with the responsibility of organizing the report of this sub-committee at the convention. After further discussion among the various members of the group, the committee broke up. Included in the sessions at this time was a BEN from New England (Boston) and a ROSE from Manhattan, ROSE being described as a short, very heavy set Jewish woman who indicated that she is engaged in needletrades work and is a

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Division Organizer in the Manhattan area. This ended the Saturday night session of the Election Committee meeting and many of the representatives to the committee then retired to the dance which was at the time in progress in the main hall of the Chateau Gardens, all delegates having previously been given passes which were complimentary admission tickets to the dance. Observed among those attending the dance was [redacted] who was a visitor to the convention on Saturday from the Los Angeles area, although not a delegate or alternate; she stayed for part of the dance and did not return on Sunday as she had personal business in New Jersey which is her original home.

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"On Sunday morning the convention was called to order at about 10 o'clock by DOROTHY HEALEY, who acted as chairman of the session. At this time it was indicated that a Steering Committee had been set up at the Presiding and Rules Committee, which included CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, and CARL WINTER, as well as DOROTHY HEALEY, and which had as its purpose in making of immediate decisions in terms of operating the convention. The rest of the roster of this committee was not indicated at this time. It was stated that CHARLES NUSSER, who had been appointed as one of the co-chairmen of the Credentials Committee, had become ill and was being replaced by HI LUMER, of Cleveland, who was one of the members of the Left Caucus.

It was indicated that [ ]

referred to as [ ]

[ ] was in charge of the question of meeting places of committees and the delegates requiring meeting places for delegation meetings or for committee meetings were to see

[ ] on this question. It was further announced

that [ ] of the New York staff of the National Committee was in charge of the secretarial staff and that all typing and mimeographing must be done through her.

"MORRIS CHILDS rose to indicate that the deadline for the filing of any appeals was 2 PM on Sunday. BEN DAVIS was then given a special order of business at which time he took note of the comrades who were in prison, taking specific note of BOB THOMPSON who had been attacked and almost killed while in prison. He indicated that we should fight for his release and that we should ask for a form of amnesty from the President in line with the amnesties which had been granted by Jefferson and by other presidents in the case of similar types of laws.

"Greetings were also read to ED STRONG at this time. The next order of business was a report of the committee and name and form which was introduced by OLETA YATES of San Francisco. She rose to indicate that the committee had included representatives from New York, California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania and Illinois.

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She said all points of view had been represented and that [redacted] acting as secretary of the committee, together with [redacted] who also was a secretary of the committee, who also was a secretary of the committee, had worked with a sub-committee including PAT TOUHEY who is now living in New Jersey where he is recovering from a case of tuberculosis and who is stated privately as engaged in raising chickens at the present time; that TOUHEY together with [redacted] and OLETA YATES had brought forward a report fundamentally identical to the New York State Convention Resolution on the question of name and form. She indicated that 24 resolutions were before the committee, three from county organizations endorsing the National Committee's 3rd Amendment on the question of name and form; 11 from State organizations, all of which supported maintaining the Party a Political Action Association at this time, she stated.

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"She further stated that it was the feeling of the committee that the question of name and form is a secondary question and does not take precedence over the more fundamental questions of good ideology and correct policy. There should be no recrimination, she pointed out, against people who have taken a position which is not accepted by this Convention, and there should be no polarization along the lines of pro



and con on the question of a political action association.

It was the basic rule of the committee that this question must be further discussed and that adherence to the point of view of political action association should not be stigmatized as holders of liquidationist views. The main task, she said, was one of building and strengthening the Party. Having introduced her resolution, the first speaker in favor of the resolution GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY who indicated that he was in favor of this proposition because it compared to the resolution which was passed by the New York State Convention. He pointed out that FOSTER in his remarks had not noted that the resolution called for further discussion on the question and that the letter of the resolution in this respect should be strictly adhered to. A political action association, he said, is not revisionism. The right of dissent must be established on this question. CHARNEY feels that we should move to a political action association because it would help on the question of establishing the legality of the Party and it would provide the basis for making a mass Party out of the Communist organization; however, he is willing to defer his feelings in the interest of unity at this time.

"JIM FORD rose on the question of being opposed to

the idea that this position is not a revisionist position.

He said it was.

[ ] then spoke from the floor indicating that GATES did not find it necessary to speak on the previous day when DENNIS and FOSTER had made their speech because this is not a three-man difference of opinion, but a two-man difference of opinion. The two main directions are the positions of DENNIS in favor of the main line of the Draft Resolution, and the position of FOSTER which is opposed to the question of name and form is a relatively trivial thing, he said, because the main position, which is different from that of the Convention, is his opposition to the line of the Draft Resolution. This was the most violent attack which was made on FOSTER personally throughout the course of the Convention.

"BETTY GANNETT then rose to indicate that the rank and file had already settled this question; however, we cannot preclude discussion on this question or any other questions facing the Convention. A delegate named ESTHER [ ] from Chicago arose and spoke in favor of the resolution. A delegate named CLYDE [ ] from Mercer County in New Jersey spoke in favor of the resolution and stated that this resolution must be used to strengthen our activity and to regain our lost members.

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[redacted] spoke, indicating that FOSTER was wrong in his discussion on the question of name and form in pointing out that his position essentially fed the right opposition by forcing them to take an extreme position in opposition to his sectarian views.

[redacted] then took the floor to indicate that we must learn not to turn to rapidly when we make changes, that while changes were required we couldn't change in such a way as to destroy our Party.

[redacted] then took the floor indicating that the right of dissent is a fine thing but let's name names and let's indicate who is responsible for trying to disrupt the Party at this time. He indicated that he had taken exception to the mildness of the Resolution.

"ARCHIE BROWN of California then spoke indicating that he would like to put an amendment in the proposal to state that the main task of the Party at the present time is to build the Party. This was accepted by the group.

"A motion to close debate after hearing from JOHNNIE GATES was then made and this was amended to hear one speaker in opposition after GATES spoke.

"JOHN GATES then took the floor for the basic political speech of the Convention to be delivered by him

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at this time. He stated that a transformation in the nature of the Party would be in the best interests of the Party at this time, but that the need for maintaining unity within the ranks of the Party was even greater than the need for this transformation. We cannot continue, he said, to divide ourselves between pro and con on the question of maintaining the Party versus switching to a political action association. We are all for the organization of a Party and for the maintenance of the Party; we all want to save this organization; the problem is one of finding the best way to do so. The chief problem is still one of breaking with the isolation of the Party in the United States from the masses of the people. Just retaining the name and form of the Party solves nothing, he said. Life itself will determine the reality of the issues. The main task is to build an anti-monopoly coalition. Discussion must not be foreclosed on the question of a better, more suitable form of organization of this movement.

"A speaker then rose opposed to the motion on the question of the name and form of the Party. This speaker was PAUL ROBESON, JR., who advocated the most extreme left wing, left caucus position that was stated on the floor. Throughout the convention PAUL ROBESON, JR. took a similar position to that taken in his closing remarks as the last

speaker on this question. He indicated that he was in direct opposition to the concept as stated in the resolution, that the Party was opposed to the formation of a political action association, stating that he felt that it should instead say that we reject the concept of a political action association. He felt that the equivocation with regard to failing to brand the advocates of political action association as revisionists and liquidationists, the leaving of the door open for further discussion on this question, will be an important wedge for factionalism in the Party, and that in fact, the people who advocate this position should be rooted out of the Party.

"Minor amendments were then proposed to the exact phraseology to be used and these were rejected by the committee as in direct opposition to the point of view of the resolution and therefore in opposition to Rule 8 with regard to amendments contrary to the motion. The report was then passed overwhelmingly by a show of hands which were not counted, with only two delegates who voted against this resolution were PAUL ROBESON, JR. and AL LANNON, both members of the "left caucus". The seventeen abstentions were also leading members of the "left caucus".

"Upon the completion of this business, the convention adjourned for lunch and upon reconvening on Sunday afternoon PAT TOUHEY of New Jersey was installed as session chairman. At

this time the reports which had been made the previous day by DENNIS and FOSTER were distributed to the representatives and then greetings from the Korean Communist Party and the British Communist Party were read. SID STEIN then rose as general chairman of the resolutions committee to deliver what he considered an extremely important talk on the question facing the Resolutions Committee with regard to the main line of the Draft Resolution. Unfortunately while this talk was extremely organized and well prepared, and intended to be a vital contribution to the convention, the delegates were drifting slowly from lunch and because of the tiredness of the delegates at this stage and lack of attention, the report was not given the kind of consideration that STEIN had expected it to be given. A brief summary of what he had to say at this time follows:

"He indicated that the original Draft Resolution had been based as far as possible on a full discussion up till the time of September, when it was issued. That since that time, a new section had been added on the economic situation and an analysis of the post-election situation had been added, a new section on the international situation, a new section on social democracy in the relationship of the Party to social democrats, a new section on the role Communists in the trade

union movement, a new section on the question of Negro rights, and three amendments on the question on the status of the Party had been added. He feels, he stated, that the Draft Resolution has already been changed as a result of the discussion in the rank and file of the Party. What is emerging is a new line for the Party. The problem, he said, is where we pick up the problem, where do we start. This is not an unholy alliance that you find in this Draft Resolution, as some have charged between different points of view; this is not a problem of throwing out the left or locking out the right opposition; this is a problem of re-building the Party. The Draft Resolution has been debated and improved. Our science, he said, cannot make us the basis of a religious sect. The gap, he said, is closing within the Party. As previously indicated, this was intended to be a very fiery call to action on the part of SID STEIN to the convention; however, it just happened to be timed in such a way that it was not very well received.

"What followed then was sub-committee No. 1 of the resolutions group which was a report on the international and national question, which was divided into three parts. A report on the economic question, a report on the international situation, which was read by LIL GATES, and a third section on the path ahead, which was a question of a program in terms

of the actual situation which was brought forward by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of Colorado.

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"The second section which was read by LIL GATES was a report in which it was stated that the results of Geneva was not fully treated by the Draft Resolution. Notes were given by WILLIAM WINESTONE on this question and general disagreement was stated by WINESTONE who was also a member of the "left caucus", with many of the formulations of the Draft Resolution. GEORGE MORRIS indicated that peaceful co-existence has been a goal for many years, as a matter of fact, since the formation of the Soviet Union we have been fighting for peaceful co-existence.

"A delegate named IRWIN [REDACTED] from New York pointed out under this discussion that no discussion has been made in this entire period of the role of the United States in the attack on Egypt. [REDACTED] then rose to indicate that an end to the monopoly of atomic weapons has resulted in a serious change in the entire situation and that this should be included in discussion.

"The third section of the report of the international-national, etc. situation was introduced by [REDACTED] who pointed out that the path ahead involved a question of estimating the political situation immediately following the November



elections. She pointed out that during the November elections many Negroes had entered the Republican column for the first time which was a new factor in the political situation; that for the first time many of the farmers were developing a great growth in their political sentiments of a progressive nature. She called for an ousting of the Dixiecrats from Congress and indicated that action should be taken with regard to a much more intensified political action program. Action of the convention on the various elements of these reports was deferred till later in the convention when the various items could be mimeographed and made available for more concrete discussion. The convention then went on to hear another special order of business from BENDAVIS with regard to greetings of the wives of political prisoners, who were actively operating in the convention, stirring up interest in behalf of maintaining the families of these prisoners. Leading this group was [redacted] [redacted] who was in charge of the organization of the wives of political prisoners.

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"The next order of business was a report from JAMES JACKSON, as chairman of the sub-committee No. 2 on the Negro question. He introduced a resolution which was intended to replace that part of the Draft Resolution dealing with the Negro question in section 1 and that part of the Draft Resolution

dealing with the Negro question in Section 4 of the original Draft Resolution. The title of the new section which he proposed was 'Rally to the Banner of Struggle for Negro Freedom, Key to the Strengthening American Democracy'. In the course of this resolution which was introduced by JACKSON and which was largely written by DOXEY WILKERSON who represented the only significant part of the Negro leadership of the Party, which took a fundamentally right wing position on the question of the Negro Question, contained the fundamental elements of recognition of the basic errors of the past in the Party in failing to recognize the need for fighting legalistically as the NAACP had been doing for years for integration of the schools as a basic political issue; its recognition further that the emphasis on the national economy of the Negro people in the Black Belt was an emphasis in which the Negro people themselves were not directly interested at this time, and that instead, the Communist Party separated itself politically from the particular struggle the people desired to be engaged themselves. This particular position was a recognition that the attitude previously held by the American party on the formation of an independent Negro nation in the South as a basic proposition

to fought for in the interests of the Negro people; that this formation of a Negro nation was a program which was foreign to the basic interests of the Negro people and should never have been advocated by the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, the repudiation of this position was the most decisive repudiation that took place during the course of the convention. It called on the Communists to rejoin the main stream of the Negro fight along the lines that were laid down so successfully by the NAACP. It called for an end of the isolation of the Communist Party from the main struggle of the Negro people as the number one social task of American Progressives throughout the country and calls for the participation of the Communists in the movement as its basic proposition and most important activity in the months ahead.

"The following is a supplementary report on the next session of the Election Committee which began on Sunday noon and continued on through Sunday night, at which the decisions of the Election and Leadership Committee were made with regard to the recommendations that were to be brought forward.

"The following topics were discussed at this committee meeting: (1) Size of the National Committee;

(2) Nature of representation on the committee; (3)

The method of election of this committee, how much of it shall be done on an at-large basis and how much of it shall be done by other groups than the convention itself;

(4) The question of the status of political prisoners who are previous members of the National Committee; (5)

The question of whether there shall be officers and if so, which; (6) The question of nominating procedure and the work of the sub-committee on the election itself;

(7) The question of moving to Chicago.

"It was stated by this committee that the following is the basic strength of the Party as stated in the registration figures of 1955-56. New York was reported as having 88 hundred active members at this time; California 29 hundred; Illinois approximately one thousand; New Jersey in the neighborhood of 500; also in the neighborhood of 500 for Ohio and Philadelphia; in the neighborhood of 400 each for Michigan and New England; approximately 300 each for Minnesota and Washington; approximately 200 for Maryland and the District of Columbia; and also approximately 200 for Connecticut; and 100 for Oregon, Western Pennsylvania and Wisconsin; less than 100 each for Indiana; and a smaller amount for the entire South

and for the Rocky Mountain Region.

[redacted] reporting at this time, indicated with regard to the structure of the National Committee the following facts: The original National Committee elected in December, 1950, at the last convention of the Communist Party contained thirteen members which were as follows: WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, ELIZABETH GURLY FLYNN, EUGENE DENNIS, BEN DAVIS, IRVING POTASH, JOHN WILLIAMSON, ROBERT THOMPSON, GIL GREEN, and HENRY WINSTON. In addition for purposes of attempting to evade certain aspects of the Smith Act, nine alternates were elected at this time, who actually functioned as members of the National Committee, although they had the status of alternates for apparently legal purposes. They included PETTIS PERRY, JAMES JACKSON, [redacted] CLAUDIA JONES, SID STEIN, FRED FINE, ARCHIE BROWN, WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. Subsequent to this time the following were co-opted by the National Committee. These were [redacted] [redacted] BETTY GANNETT, ED STRONG, [redacted] [redacted] WILLIAM NORMAN and LOUISE TODD LAMBERT. At the present time, in addition to the group mentioned above, the following have been meeting for some time with the National Committee and to all intents and purposes

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functioning as members of this committee. They are GEORGE  
BLAKE CHARNEY, DR. ALBERT BLUMBERG, NIMMY SPARKS and

[REDACTED]

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"In addition to this, it was indicated by  
[REDACTED] that five other members who cannot be  
named have been functioning as members of the National  
Committee. These include four shop workers who were  
unidentified because of the fact that they are employed  
in industry, and one youth member who was also  
unidentified because of his status in a youth organization.

"With regard to the question of 50% of the  
representatives of the new National Committee coming  
from other than functionary basis, it was decided that this  
would be a recommendation to the individuals voting  
for a National Committee membership at the election but  
could not be a hard-and-fast rule because of the difficulty  
in finding that large of number of people who could  
afford to run on any kind of an open basis for the National  
Committee, other than functionaries.

"With regard to the question of having General  
officers for the party, the National Committee recommended  
against having specific officers and proposed that just a  
board of specialists with secretaries on the question of

political action, trade unionism, etc. be set up in its stead. This board may, if it so desires, elect a chairman or secretary to do its own work, but these could in no way be considered to be a General officer of the party, as such.

[redacted] spoke in favor of this negative procedure of not having a General chairman or secretary to the Party.

"A delegate named JACK (KLING) spoke against the proposal and indicated that he felt we should try to elect a chairman and secretary at the convention.

[redacted] from Washington indicated that we must unify the Party around the FOSTER-DENNIS leadership and that she is in favor of having a chairman and secretary at this time.

"Further discussion on this question included ROSE [redacted] of Manhattan, who took the position that she was against giving power to any particular group within the National Committee at this time, that the entire National Committee should have power.

"A delegate named ED [redacted] indicated that the rank and file is capable of solving this problem; therefore, he is opposed to the idea of deciding not to have a chairman or secretary at this time.

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"A delegate named [ ] indicated that he is in favor of the proposal to not have officers because this has been a situation that the Party has faced a number of times; what we need is a Public Secretariat which can come forward from the Convention.

[ ] spoke against having a chairman or secretary at this time; he said however, that the membership can and must choose a secretariat which will act as a collective leadership.

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"Another delegate indicated that we cannot elect officers here; however, what would happen if a small group within the National Committee elected officers instead.

"A question was raised about the possibility of first electing a Secretariat and then adding to them the remainder of the National Committee.

[ ] from San Francisco spoke in favor of the Secretariat elected from the top of the voting list of the National Committee, taking the top vote getters of the National Committee group as the basis of the secretariat.

"BEN [ ] from New England spoke in favor of unity with respect to the full differences to be expressed within the National Committee. He indicates that unity requires



that we have leaders and that these leaders be drawn from the various points of view.

"Finally it was decided to let 20 members who are elected at large to the National Committee propose the five to be selected.

from California indicated that the main offices should under no circumstances be filled at this time.

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"With regard to the other questions which were before the group, it was decided to have a national committee of 60 members, 20 of whom would be elected at large, and 40 of whom would be elected on a table as follows: 11 from New York; 5 from California; 4 from Illinois; 2 each from New Jersey, Ohio, Philadelphia, and Michigan; 1 from New England, Minnesota, Washington, Maryland, D.C., Connecticut, Oregon, Western Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin; 1 also from Indiana and 1 from the Rocky Mountain Region; 2 from the South in general.

"The proposal to increase the California delegation to six representatives was disapproved and a proposal to increase the representation from Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan by an additional 1 because of the industrial concentration there, was also disapproved. It was finally agreed to have this group of approximately 40 representatives

selected. The big question that then came up was where these people should be selected. The proposal of [ ] and of [ ] was that the delegation should meet in caucus and select their representatives at this time; however, the three representatives from California including [ ] [ ] and [ ] from San Francisco indicated that their delegation was opposed to doing this and they felt that a number of other large delegations would be unable to, in all justice, elect these representatives at this time, but rather the work should be done by the State Convention. Considerable pressure was brought to bear on the possibility of doing as much of the electing of the National Committee at this time as possible.

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"A canvass was made of the various delegations and it was indicated that the following groups were not able to elect delegates at this time to this committee; they included California, Maryland, the South, Oregon, part of New York, and all of Illinois. In addition to this, the following had already elected members to the National Committee on the basis of the proposed constitution: Eastern Pennsylvania, Michigan (part), part of Ohio, New England, Minnesota and Washington.

"After considerable wrangling back and forth in an additional meeting which was held with the steering committee of the Presiding Committee of the convention, it was finally decided that the original decision of the Elections Committee to have the 40 people elected as far as possible by the delegations back home at State Convention would be followed, and that the 20 at large would recommend a secretariat of seven to be brought forward for the approval of the convention to act as an interim group until such time as the full National Committee could meet and select its own functioning operating officers of the Party.

"With regard to the question of the status of political prisoners, it was decided that in view of the fact that the political prisoners who were in jail they could not be left on as members of the National Committee during the time they are in jail and the time immediately following their exit from jail, that an agreement be made that the National Committee would have the right to co-opt such members as are now in jail (former members), who so desired to be co-opted, at such time as they become available for holding office. In other words, when their agreement has expired with regard to refraining from political activity, if the individual so desires, and on recommendation

of the National Committee, that individual can then be co-opted to the National Committee; however, there is no agreement on the part of the National Convention indicating that he is necessarily part of the National Committee at this time. This was felt to be an important legal device which would in no way interfere with releasing certain of the prisoners who are now in jail.

"With regard to the question of moving the national headquarters out of the New York area, it was generally agreed by both the elements in the left and the elements in the right wing, as well as the centrists, and those who didn't participate in any caucus, that it would be wise to break up the center of leadership which has grown up around the New York area and move them as far as possible into the middle west where they would have a chance to have better contact with the rank and file and with the sentiment of the working class as it expresses itself in the heart of industry in the United States. Accordingly, a proposal was brought forward from the committee to move the national center of the Communist Party to Chicago at the earliest possible date. A discussion was held as to the possibility of putting a time limit on this proposal and it was decided that this would be an impractical proposition because there were too many

technical factors, but that it should be brought forward as a definite proposal of the convention to move to Chicago leaving the arrangements in the hands of the National Committee.

"In summary then, the decisions of this committee are as follows: There will be no general secretary or chairman of the National Committee of the Party or of the Party itself; there will be a temporary secretariat which was originally proposed to be of seven leaders, although this was later changed by the 20 who were elected at large to 11; the secretariat which is set up will function on an interim basis only, to be replaced at the meeting of the full National Committee; the 20 National Committee members will act as a nominating group to bring forward a secretariat from among themselves (a temporary secretariat).

"On Monday an additional meeting of the Election Committee decided that either all the delegations must elect their representatives at the convention, or that all of the groups must elect their representatives on a State Convention basis.

took the floor at this time and pointed out that there was a great deal of worry evidently as to where these people should be elected because of the

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effect that this might have on any possible secretariat of the Party. It was pointed out at this time that it had been a clear decision of the Election Committee that the secretariat to be brought forward would be brought forward by the 20 at large delegates and not by any additional group. In spite of this fact, the argument continued in an effort to gain as much possible the election of representative delegates from the regions to be elected at the convention by caucus of the delegations. In the last analysis this was finally rejected by the Election Committee and by the rank and file of the convention.

"The final vote to have the secretariat selected in this way was passed before the committee on a basis of 12 in favor and 5 opposed to the idea of having the 20 at large delegates propose a secretariat to the convention.

"Returning to the work of the convention as a whole, FRED FINE reporting for the Presiding Committee proposed a change in the agenda to accommodate the lateness and the tardiness with regard to completing the work of the convention. He proposed that a special order of business be held at 11:30 on Monday to begin a three-hour discussion on Resolution Sub-Committee Number 5, which was concerned with the estimate of the Party; that at 3:30

the Credentials Committee give its report to be followed by reports of the Constitution Committee which will leave room towards the end of the evening for the Leadership Committee to make its report.

"The agenda was thus streamlined and several elements left out which would otherwise have been taken up on Monday in order to guarantee that certain very important questions would still come before the convention. The proposal with regard to short-circuiting the work of the trade union report which was at the time on the floor in favor of listening to the discussion of the Resolutions Committee on the estimate of the Party and in favor of the specific work of the Credentials and Constitution Committee and the Leadership Committee was finally agreed to after discussion. This observer missed the early part of the Monday morning session because he was participating in the Election Committee Meeting which was reported earlier.

"At 11:35 he entered the convention floor finding the Chairman of the afternoon DAVE DAVIS of Philadelphia with MANNY BLUM of Indiana acting as reporter. The work of this committee was received favorably by the convention and the convention then went on to discuss a report which was rendered by WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN on behalf of resolutions

#5 where WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that after sixteen hours of discussion of the question of the estimate of the Party they had a majority report to present.

"The majority report was concerned with three basic questions, the first being the nature of the errors that had been made by the Party, the second being an approach to theory and the third being the relationship which must be maintained with other Marxist's parties. The majority report indicated that there had been most intense discussion on this point more than any other point in the period immediately preceding the convention.

"What is the main line of the Resolutions?" asked SCHNEIDERMAN; What is the main lesson of this discussion? The committee majority holds that the sense of the resolutions is correct as it states on page 53, that the most important mistakes which have been made in the Party are the mistakes of left sectarianism. Thus he points out while fighting also against the right errors of moving too fast in the direction of a change, that the main task before the CP is still one mainly of rooting out the errors of left sectarianism that have led to the isolation of the Party from the people. There is a current, said SCHNEIDERMAN, apart from the resolution. This current must be opposed. The main characteristics of the



errors up until now have been those of left sectarianism because in fighting all errors we must learn to break with those which have brought us to this period of crisis. The minority report to the convention was brought forward by a delegate from New York whose name was [redacted] She may be described as a short young Jewish girl, approximately 30, with black hair, relatively round face and her weight approximately 135 pounds. She delivered her report vigorously. She said that there is a growing right danger and the need for a struggle on two points. This committee did not, she said, review any of the amendments which had been put before it, and she feels the committee has seriously underestimated the conditions which lead to the so-called errors of the past. We must work, she said, in terms of a more sober approach to our problems. She proposed two paragraphs be included in the draft resolution indicating which objective conditions lead to the so-called left sectarian errors and two paragraphs be inserted in the draft resolution placing emphasis on the need to fight the growing right danger. Finally she said, there must be a section entered into the draft resolution which is not presently there on the roots of the errors. She feels that this new section on the roots of the errors should point out that the present draft resolution contains fourteen pages of mis-statements and misrepresentations on the question of the errors before the Party. To

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be sure in the Party in the past, she says, the main errors of the Party were left sectarianism but history requires a more adequate characterization of the errors of the past than just this statement, What caused those errors? She could not remember the resolution in accordance with these proposals relating the objective conditions which led to our isolation to the errors of left sectarianism. She called for recognition of right danger and the class roots which led to this right danger which are roots of Bourgeois democracy and middle class orientation. She called for recognition of the need to struggle on two fronts, indicating that we cannot take a position that America has an exceptional situation different than the situation of any other country in the world which is a position which is implicitly contained in the position of the right opposition to her point of view which is presented by the majority position.

"Essentially, said  this substitute proposal is a proposal which is similar in many respects to that which was passed by the New York State Convention."

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"Under discussion, a delegate named JOHN \_\_\_\_\_ from New Jersey took the position that the left sectarian, danger in the past was the main danger to be sure, but

what are the class roots of the left sectarianism, he asked? These come from a political retreat from struggle. We could not cope with the real conditions so we retreated to work out our own left sectarian position. To omit the danger of right opportunism in this period is to admit a serious fault. A delegate named [redacted] from Brooklyn took this position. He said that the attitude of the working class at the present time in this country is based on the so-called prosperity bubble, which when it breaks will reveal all the class contradictions that are at the roots of American society.

[redacted] from Michigan, indicated that the amendments which had been proposed, deal only with the part of problem which is stated in the draft resolution between pages 42 and 46 with other parts not covered, including the overestimate of the Fascist danger and the overestimate of the danger of war. This is not mainly incorrect in these estimates as is indicated in the draft resolution.

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"Next [redacted] from New Jersey spoke. He endorsed the section dealing with those errors as being fundamentally left sectarianism, but he pointed out that right opportunism is also a danger. The main error was, he said, from left sectarianism but we can kill the fight by over-

emphasizing the right danger. The new feature in the discussion is the discussion against doctrinarism and dogmatism as applied to our theory. Our party has dwindled he said because of the errors of left sectarianism.

"Speaking in behalf of the minority position, a delegate from New York named [ ] indicated that in Harlem what is a minority position here is the majority position in her district. The main error she feels in Harlem was one of right opportunism. In this area she stated we went from a membership of 1300 to 100 in a period of 12 years. Why are these people who used to work with us no longer active? Why is it that when we used to fight for VITO MARCANTONIO and the American Labor Party we no longer have people working with us today. In recent years we have abdicated our leadership, we seem to want the mass organizations to do the work for us; let us fight she said on both fronts at this time.

"JIM WEST then spoke in favor of SCHNEIDERMAN's report and also in favor of [ ] report. He said let us unite around EUGENE DENNIS's position. We will make more mistakes to be sure but let us recognize that all of these errors are important and have to be fought against.

[ ] from New York then spoke; [ ] stated that, while in fact the main errors of the past were really not one of right opportunism but also left sectarianism, both errors were possible.

Why did we flee in the direction of left sectarianism? We are weak he stated in the question of self-criticism. What did we do wrong and why did we do it wrong? How shall we correct our errors, this is the question? The minority point of view, the minority report is no real answer to our problems. Why? Because dogmatism and doctrinairism is still present in this point of view. We must rip these practices out of our work in the period ahead. We must overcome Bureaucracy. We can not give up fighting for socialism only to concentrate on an anti-monopoly coalition. The majority report he feels is in the true Leninist spirit because it uproots the causes of the errors.

"A delegate named GIDEON \_\_\_\_\_ from New York then spoke. He took the position in favor of the minority point of view pointing out that our party leadership has isolated us from the rank and file in these recent periods; that our membership has in fact been at fault. BETTY GANNETT then rose in support of [ ] point of view was being favor of neither report. We cannot blunt the main line of the draft resolution, she said, but the phase which is indicated in the draft resolution in our position to right opportunism states that we must not weaken the main task. This can also mean she feels silent with regard to the kind of errors that have been made.

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[redacted] then spoke from Montana indicating that he too advocates a position similar to [redacted] position.

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The party situation in Montana is not the same as it is in New York, he said. After the 1952 election failures, Montana's party tried to correct its left sectarian errors and since that time has achieved good relationship with the farmer-labor coalition in Montana working with the teachers in the Butte unions and working with the farmer-labor party in its own modest way.

"DOXEY WILKERSON then spoke pointing out that the right errors are present to be sure but shall we blunt the main estimate of the resolution with regard to the errors of left sectarianism. In the field of Negro work, said DOXEY, the theory of an autonomous country and the black belt was wrong. We have mis-evaluated the role of the middle class in the Negro movement for liberation. We have failed to recognize the importance that the legal struggle for school integration has the central issue in the fight for Negro freedom. We have distorted our own relationships and isolated ourselves from the masses of the Negro people. We have pre-occupied ourselves with right opportunism which is really harkening back to phrase mongering and does not in any way get at the source of the trouble.

"A delegate named [ ] from New York then spoke indicating that our leadership has not been self-critical in this period. We did not help the small farmer; we did not help the small business man or the member of the lower middle class. What we need is a program of struggle based on the realities of the situation in which we live.

[ ] of California then spoke indicating that unity of the party must be maintained. He is in favor of the majority on this question, anti-bureaucracy and anti-dogmatism. It might be pointed out that this was a break on the part of [ ] who maintained consistently throughout the convention in behalf of the left sectarian position.

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"MIKE RUSSO then spoke from New England indicating that he too favors the majority report. Party unity must be meaningful, he feels. We cannot become an evangelical sect at this time. There can be sharp differences but not a polarization between left and right. We must have a common ideology. Small groups are seeking at the present time to make revisionism the main line of attack. This is incorrect.

"A delegate named [ ] DAVIS from Long Island then spoke against both right opportunism and left sectarianism.

"[ ] then spoke noting that in the majority position the burden of responsibility of the leadership for sectarianism is made plain. There has been,

she feels, little chance up until now for rank and file expression of its criticism of the leadership. The main direction of the Draft Resolution means further wide discussion but leading to decision. What is the main area of agreement which we must find? It is an area of calling for work in behalf of rooting out these errors of left sectarianism.

"STEVE NELSON then spoke, indicating that unity is not the only question. Where are we going he wants to know. What is the nature of the errors that we have always made in the past? These have always been sectarian errors. NELSON pointed out that in 1928 WILLIAM Z. FOSTER got up at a Convention of the American Communist Party and called for a soviet America. He went on to say that we once required that members of a certain mine union, in order to hold office in this union, pledge allegiance to the Communist Party of the United States. This, he feels, is a typical example of the kind of left sectarianism which FOSTER and BEN DAVIS are trying to defend themselves as not having ever really held.

"The Convention then adjourned, without taking any actual position on the proposals which were recommended by SCHNEIDERMAN, for a period of lunch.

"On returning at 4:20 Monday afternoon, it was pointed out by the chairman of the session that the Convention



was now four and a half hours behind schedule. At this time it was recommended that the discussion on the estimate of the Party be suspended for a couple of special orders of business. These included a report of the Credentials Committee and a report of the Elections and Leadership Committee with regard to the election of the National Committee. The Credentials Committee then took the floor and indicated the following report:

"Twenty-five states had representatives, it said, with a total of 298 delegates and 1 fraternal delegate. It may be noted parenthetically that this fraternal delegate was from the Mexican Communist Party and that the speech which was delivered on the following day as a letter from the Mexican Communist Party was actually a speech written in New York but was not delivered from the platform because of the presence of the press and because of the fear of the Mexican fraternal delegate that he would be made the object of too much publicity. He was considerably concerned lest his presence in the hall be discovered by the press. During the course of the Convention this fraternal delegate, who spoke only Spanish, had as his interpreter [ ] and it may be noted that his main interest in participating in the discussion was in pointing out the role of American imperialism in South America and in Central America. In a meeting which he held prior to the

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Convention with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and CARL WINTER, he requested that during the course of the Convention time be made available for him to talk with GENE DENNIS and WILLIAM FOSTER as he had certain political matters to take up with them while he was in the New York area.

"To proceed with the report of the Credentials Committee there were in addition to the delegates mentioned above, twenty-seven alternates present in the Convention Hall. 165 guests were registered, there were 209 male delegates indicated, 78 female delegates. There were 54 Negroes in the Convention, 2 Mexican-Americans and 1 Puerto Rican. The age distribution is as follows: 18-25 years, 5 delegates, 26-35 years, 39 delegates, 36-45 years, 126 delegates, 46-55, 90 delegates, 56-65 years, 14 delegates, over 65, 5 delegates, no age given, 4 delegates. Length of time in the Party - 5 years or less, 6 delegates, 6-10 years, 30 delegates, 11-15 years, 27 delegates, 16-20 years, 65 delegates, 21-25 years, 83 delegates, over 25 years, 72 delegates, length of time not given, 4 delegates. There were 50 Smith Act victims present at the Convention. The breakdown as far as level of responsibility was concerned is as follows: National leaders, 15, State leaders, 55, County leaders, 37, Section leaders, 24, Club chairmen, 15, Youth, 5, farm 3, Trade Union, 80, Negro work, 34, Mexican 2, Students, 10, Jewish work, 5.

It was indicated with regard to challenges that the Credentials Committee had had the problem of replacing certain vacancies by alternates next in line which it had done with the concurrence of the delegations involved. In one specific case an alternate California was seated to replace a missing delegate at large by action of the Convention.

"From the Bronx delegation two sets of delegates showed up for the same seats. While the first group that showed up was originally seated, they were replaced by the second group on action of the Committee and the original group had their delegates cards rescinded. One delegate who challenged a seat from up state New York had his challenge denied. It was indicated privately that this was a left wing delegate who did the challenging. A challenge was made on the seating of the New York at-large delegation based on the report which was previously made in this report of the shift of 20 votes which were evidently irregularly placed in the ballot box. It was decided that a recommendation would be made by the Credentials Committee to have the National Committee investigate this question as one of its first official acts. The Credentials Committee meantime was unanimously opposed to unseating the delegates at large which had been previously elected. A motion was proposed from the Credentials Committee to reject and condemn the press reports with regard to the

irregular seating of delegates which had been made during the course of the Convention and vacant seats which were available in the Convention were not filled by recommendation of the Credentials Committee. The report was proposed as a report as such and after some modest discussion of the question it was accepted with no nay votes and four abstentions. A proposal was then made by BILL PATTERSON that an amnesty resolution be sent to EISENHOWER with regard to the political prisoners of the Communist Party.

"At 5:10 on Monday evening, HELEN WINTER rose to give the report of the Elections Committee. She indicated that a considerable problem had been concerning this committee with regard to the need of changing and improving the methods and form and the system of leadership under which we have been operating. She indicated that the general discussion of this committee, which had met for a total of 20 hours in committee meetings, was that we must seek to improve the leadership system and that the guiding principles which had been the basis of the work of the Committee was that the incoming National Committee must express the policies of this Convention as fully as possible but also include all points of view expressed within the Convention; that in order to get basic changes in the methods of work in the Party there must be new forces brought into the National Committee; that there must

be a refreshment of leadership from below. There are many problems facing the organization of such a National Committee. We must strive to bring forward leadership with strong ties with the membership, with the working class and with the Negro people. There must be an emphasis, she said, on the relationship of shop workers and mass workers inside the National Committee. There must be wide regional representation. We cannot elect to office in the National Committee someone who works in basic industry to be sure but we can struggle for full legality and in the meantime, elect those people who are working close to the shop workers, who are associates of the shop workers and found, in the various regions of the country. The new features which are mentioned in the Constitution bring forward plans for future elections. The problem which is presented by the Election and Leadership Committee is a problem of how to elect the National Committee at this time. Unlike the past the National Committee will have to have representation in the districts themselves. We must have more Negroes, more Negro women, more youth in this National Committee. We must also have content and quality in our leadership. In the past there has been a bureaucratic practice of permitting full time functionaries to do all of the work of the National Committee. Functionaries, said HELEN WINTER, must work for the National Committee not visa versa. Size was proposed as follows:

"That there be 60 representatives, 40 from the districts and 20 at large. Most of the 40 to be elected will have to be elected after the Convention comes to an end because almost all districts are unprepared to elect people at this time to the National Committee. The National Committee representatives to be elected by district caucuses or by the next session of the State Convention will have to be elected prior to March 31st. The representation schedule is as listed previously above. This does not provide any perfect parity or proportionment but it indicates a respect for the various interests of the many districts which have to be concerned with and a respect for the areas where industrial concentration is greatest and representation in the National Committee is most important. It was pointed out that the incoming National Committee may add from among those political prisoners, when possible and when they agree, additional members to the National Committee. At this Convention it is proposed that no general officers be elected. It is proposed that the 20 at large National Committee representatives meet and select and propose an interim secretariat of seven members. When the National Committee is fully completed on March 31st this interim secretariat is to be replaced by the officers who will serve the National Committee only and who will in no way, represent the Convention at large.

"Finally a proposal is made to move to Chicago and in the last point of business of the committee a proposal is made for nomination on election procedures which are to follow the acceptance of the main report of the Elections and Leadership Committee.

"A question was asked with regard to what would happen in the case of a vacancy being caused by the arrest of one of the National Committee members. It was decided that replacement would be made not by co-option but by referendum either in the district so represented or by National referendum if need be.

"A move was made to increase the representation of the South from two to four but this was denied. A move was made to elect officers at this Convention but this was denied.

"After a spirited debate took place on this question it was finally decided to accept the report of HELEN WINTER with regard to the method of election as proposed.

"The following action was taken with regard to amendments to the reports:

"These amendments were considered after a supper recess. During the course of this supper recess not only were the amendments carefully analyzed but a final attempt was made by certain members of the outgoing National Committee

to change the method of election of the secretariat, which was to come from the group of 20. This was roundly rejected by the members of the Election Committee as an effort to stampede and harass the work of this committee.

"The following is the action which was taken by the committee with regard to proposed amendments:

"The question of referendum in terms of replacement with the members of the committee was referred to the Constitution Committee. The question of increasing southern representation was rejected as contrary to the position of the committee. The question of amending the report to elect two general officers was not accepted as being unacceptable to the point of view of the committee.

"The amendment which was proposed to the Elections and Leadership Committee regarding the districts which will not hold Convention subsequent to the National Convention and which will instead hold caucuses at the Convention for the purpose of electing their representatives was accepted by the Committee as not out of keeping with the spirit of the committee's work. An amendment was made that when the full National Committee releases a temporary secretariat they shall only be in power to elect their own officers. This amendment was accepted.



"An amendment was proposed that the Convention elect its fullest possible National Committee at this time. This amendment was rejected.

"An amendment was proposed to guarantee at least four youth representatives. This was referred to the decision of the delegates from the various districts and the decision of the individual delegates in their voting.

"An amendment was proposed to add a special representative from Missouri and this amendment was not accepted since it was covered by the southern delegation.

"An appeal was made by JOHNNY GATES that there be a limitation to the question of these continuous amendments and that we get on with the work of the group.

"A final vote was taken to approve the committee's report. This vote was accepted on a basis of 201 in favor of the report, 33 opposed, and 8 abstentions. It might be said that the basis to the opposition to this report was centered in two groups. The group which was in favor of electing officers at this time and the group which was in favor of electing a much larger portion of the National Committee at this time. Obviously these two groups did not combine to form a very significant part of the Convention.

then rose, speaking in behalf of the Election Procedures Committee, which was a subcommittee of

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the Election and Leadership Committee. He proposed that the nomination at large be done on a basis of roll call of delegates; that no names be placed in nomination until acceptance had been received by the individual making the nomination from the person nominated. He proposed that the person nominated must either be present in the Convention or his acceptance previously assured. He proposed that after the roll call of nominations from the delegates that the floor will be open for added nominations. He proposed further that balloting be done in the following manner:

That after nominations are complete a ballot will be mimeographed and the 20 highest elected in the results of the ballot be declared elected. He proposed that the tellers act as counters of ballots to be augmented by the four man subcommittee on Elections Procedure. He proposed also that the larger delegations be invited to select two watchers each to help observe the counting of the ballots to guarantee the legality of the count. Amendments to this report were ruled out of order. It was urged from the floor that the delegates be asked to vote as far as possible for a full list of 20, not concentrating on anyone small group.

"A proposal was made from this time on the floor that an allowance be made for absentee ballots for those

delegates who had to be working on the following day and who otherwise would be unable to attend. It was pointed out that this was out of keeping with the plan which was in the rules which prevented any unit voting or any absentee balloting. It was also pointed out that this was out of keeping with the position which was taken in the call to the Convention.

"The Convention then temporarily recessed for the purpose of having delegation meetings at which the nominating would be done. In the California delegation the following took place: in the California delegation the following were nominated and declined to run - WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, who indicated that he would prefer to run as a district delegate to have his fate decided at the State Convention, LOUISE TODD LAMBERT also declined as did [redacted] who was nominated from this delegation although not a member of it, OLETA YATES also declined as did [redacted]. [redacted] was nominated and declined for reason of her own. [redacted] was nominated and declined, [redacted] was nominated and declined, so did ROSCOE PROCTOR, [redacted] was nominated and declined, [redacted] [redacted] was nominated and declined, [redacted] was also nominated and declined.

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"A spirited discussion then took place which was led by [redacted] as to the importance of some of the state leaders of the California delegation running on the ballot

at large. He pointed out that WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN and DOROTHY HEALEY had played a very important part in unifying the Convention. That in this position it was important that the delegation have a right to vote in expression of their approval of the position that had been taken by DOROTHY HEALEY and BILL SCHNEIDERMAN and that it would be an important lesson for the entire Convention and for the health of the Party to have candidates of their caliber running in this election. He pointed out further that if candidates like this did not run for election that what would follow obviously was simply an affirmation of the various factions who were struggling for power in the New York group who would all be re-elected to the various places on the National Committee. In view of this strong plea, DOROTHY HEALEY finally relented and agreed to run on condition that she would have her position as a member of the National Committee reviewed by her own county convention and if not affirmed she would resign from the National Committee. This was agreed privately although never announced from the floor of the Convention. After about an hour and a half meeting to discuss this topic the California delegation returned to the Convention waiting for them to come back out on the floor and the meeting proceeded.

"It was now about 11:30 at night.

"The following nominations were made, some of them several times and from several delegations:

"Those nominated and not elected with the votes which they received are as follows:

JAMES ALLAN, 39 votes, HERBERT APTHEKER, 83 and 2/3 votes, MANNY BLUM, 81 and 1/3 votes, AL BLUMBERG, 96 and 1/3 votes, ARCHIE BROWN, 100 and 1/3 votes, MORRIS CHILDS, 63 votes, JESUS COLON, 100 and 1/3 votes, WILLIE DAVIS, 26 votes, TOM DENNIS, 40 and 1/3 votes, BETTY GANNETT, 43 and 2/3 votes, SIMON GERSON, 111 and 1/3 votes, [ ] 29 and 1/3 votes, MERIDEL LE SUEUR, 34 and 2/3 votes, HY LUMER, 113 votes, [ ] [ ] 115 and 1/3 votes, MIKE RUSSO, 78 and 2/3 votes, NIMMY SPARKS, 43 and 2/3 votes, GEORGE MEYERS, 37 and 2/3 votes, THOMAS NABRIED (who later indicated that he should not have been on the ballot and his name should not have been mentioned at all) 25 votes, BERT NELSON, 110 and 1/3 votes, JACK STACHEL, 80 votes, ED STRONG, 106 and 2/3 votes, [ ] 105 and 1/3 votes, [ ] 57 and 1/3 votes, [ ] 35 and 2/3 votes, HELEN WINTER, 91 and 2/3 votes; those who were nominated and elected were as follows: [ ] 220 and 1/3 votes, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, 201 and 2/3 votes, JAMES JACKSON, 186 votes, DOROTHY HEALEY, 176 and 1/3 votes, GENE DENNIS, 174 votes, WILLIAM C. FOSTER, 172 votes, [ ] 167 votes, BEN DAVIS, (originally reported as 164 and 2/3 votes in the vote but

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announced from the floor as) 174 and 2/3 votes, DOXIE WILKERSON, 145 votes, CARL WINTER, 143 and 2/3 votes, [REDACTED], 141 and 1/3 votes, FRED FINE, 141 votes, [REDACTED], 140 votes, AL RICHMOND, 134 and 2/3 votes, JOHN GATES, 129 and 1/3 votes, [REDACTED], 136 and 1/3 votes, SID STEIN, 129 and 1/3 votes, [REDACTED], 118 and 1/3 votes, DAVE DAVIS, 118 and 1/3 votes, GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, 115 and 2/3 votes. It should be noted that the difference in 20th place and the person in 21st place is only 1/3 of a vote.

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"The meeting broke up at about 2:00 in the morning after the elections were completed and balloting continued to be counted until about 6:30 in the morning.

"On Tuesday morning the session reconvened at about 11:00 and the first report of the balloting committee was given, which immediately precipitated a sharp fight to seat [REDACTED] the Puerto Rican candidate as a 21st member of the National Committee. It was pointed out by the members of the right group under GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, and a group of others, that there would be ample opportunity for Puerto Rican representation out of the 11 representatives coming from the New York State Convention. It was also pointed out in opposition to seating this delegate that any seating of this kind would be in violation of the rules and that furthermore this particular person, although it had not

been previously pointed out, was presently up on charges for anti-Communist behavior of various unstated types and that finally it was unfair to ask the National Convention to take a decision with regard to who was best qualified to represent the Puerto Rican people since this was the position that was not well known to the various delegates outside of New York. The left caucus staged an extensive floor fight to seat this delegate which finally resulted in WILLIAM FOSTER's taking the floor and demanding that this delegate be seated as a 21st member, which practically assured the proposition being voted down by the Convention. It was finally decided not to accept the proposal to seat this delegate as a 21st member but to stick to the idea of electing only 20. It may be noted parenthetically with regard to [redacted] that it was the opinion of several members of the left caucus that [redacted] [redacted] was a person with whom some of the members of the left caucus had worked on one of the subcommittees who mistakenly presumed that the person that they were campaigning for during the course of the election was not [redacted] but the woman who turned out to be afterwards, [redacted] a considerably more mature delegate, with more political sophistication, who had consistently voted with the left caucus in the particular committee on which she worked. [redacted] [redacted] on the other hand, was a young Negro delegate of

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practically no political sophistication who actually embarrassed BILL SCHNEIDERMAN and DOROTHY HEALEY for her agreement to even run for office, because of the fact that her background is not sufficiently adequate to warrant her even serving on a State or County leadership body, let alone on a National leadership body. Because of active campaigning of the left caucus which had three of their own Negro women from Harlem get up on the floor and decline in favor of [REDACTED] because she was a young, good-looking Negro woman, the Convention chose to elect her at the top of the list, a clear indication of the political immaturity and lack of sound, principled knowledge of the delegates at the Convention.

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"It may be noted also parenthetically that during the course of the report of the results on Tuesday morning of the elections it was stated that 258 ballots had been issued in all. It should be noted that 40 delegates evidently did not cast ballots in this election, having probably gone home earlier. In addition to this, California was weighted with one and two thirds ballots per delegate, Oregon had two ballots per delegate and Colorado had two ballots per delegate. This gave a total vote of 281 and one third ballots to be cast.

"It is also noted parenthetically that during the course of discussion with regard to the seating of the Puerto



Rican candidate, [ ] from San Francisco who was fighting in favor seating this candidate, noted the position of WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, who felt that this was a supercilious proposal which could be much more easily handled by the New York State Convention and on which he himself was not qualified to cast judgment and [ ] was heard to remark in a voice loud enough for a number of delegates to hear, that SCHNEIDERMAN's position was fundamentally a "racist" position. At this point, SCHNEIDERMAN got very angry, stomped away from the delegate's table and insisted<sup>b6</sup><sub>b7C</sub> no one could call him "racist".

[ ] at this time, circulated a petition amongst the delegates indicating the awareness of the various delegates that SCHNEIDERMAN's position was not a "racist" position. SCHNEIDERMAN said that a petition of this kind was thoroughly inadequate and that he would not be satisfied with such a simple apology on a question as serious as this, that he had just enough of the behavior of [ ] during the course of this Convention.

"The report of the Constitution Subcommittee number two was considered. In this Constitutional Committee, which was concerned with the question of the preamble and purposes of the Party, the catch phrase, whether or not the term 'as interpreted by the Party' should be left in in the discussion of the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism, a phrase which

had agitated all of the State Conventions with the possible exception of the California State Convention, which hadn't been too concerned with the problem, became the main focus of debate.

"STEVE NELSON rose to point out that not to "interpret" is to be sectarian. He pointed out that [redacted] [redacted] can come around and interpret our role but we must play an independent role.

"AL LANNON rose to state a fundamental disagreement with this position, "science" said LANNON cannot be "interpreted". We must defeat the proposition which is before the House.

[redacted] spoke on this question, pointing out that we have to make a study of our own unique traditions and apply these traditions accordingly.

"After considerable more discussion on this question the report of the Subcommittee on section four of the Draft Resolution was overwhelmingly adopted, leaving the term "as interpreted" where it stood.

"This part of the report was then overwhelmingly accepted as has been stated, and they moved on to part number three of the estimate of the Party, which was mainly concerned with the question of the relationship of the American Communist Party to other Marxist Parties. On this question [redacted] rose, pointing out that the Chinese very correctly take a

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position in opposition to the Nationalism of small countries within the socialist sphere of influence. The Chinese document, he points out, while it is a great contribution to the discussion, cannot settle our problems. How do all of these ideas which are presented in the Chinese document relate to us? What is common and what is different in our role? The position that CHOU-EN-LAI took on his tour throughout Poland and Hungary recently added greatly to the unity of the Communist movement, not by trying to pressure Poland and Hungary and the other Communist Parties of countries which he visited into line on a specific position but by trying to recognize the differences and the basic points of agreement, trying to recognize the integrity and the role of independence of the individual Parties. This attitude of mutual respect is very important in understanding the role of Communist Parties in the situation.

[redacted] then took the floor, speaking against the resolution. He spoke in behalf of a left sectarian position, saying that our discussion of the USSR's position is nothing to be proud of in this particular report. The attack against the USSR is not, he said, our main problem. We cannot solve our problems in isolation. A delegate named [redacted] from New York got up and indicated that he was going to vote for abstention. The resolution, as it

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stands at the present time, he stated, is inadequate, as an incorrect conception here of the whole problem of proletarian internationalism. We cannot continue to tail the Soviet line. FOSTER is still advocating his support for Soviet foreign policy. The neutral camp must be supported too. We cannot continue to avoid a recognition of the worth of the Indian position. The soviet idea does not treat us as equals or as having any right to an opinion of our own. This position which was taken, which was the most extreme right wing position taken in the Convention, was promptly denied by GATES and other members, including GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY and other members of the right opposition.

"A delegate describing himself as an org. secretary of the Manhattan District, indicated that the majority of the Soviet Union's policies have been good policies and that we still support them. Our separate roads to Socialsim and our peaceful transition opportunities have not been adequately stressed. In this respect we have tailed along on a wrong aspect of the Soviet policy.

"PAUL ROBESON, JR. rose to oppose this resolution and this report. But his position was rejected.

"NIMMY SPARKS then spoke, stating that we must not be subservient to the Soviet Union.

"A vote was then taken on this section of the resolution subcommittee number five and overwhelmingly passed. [redacted] of Minnesota then rose to deliver the report of the preamble and purposes subcommittee of the Constitution Committee. He indicated that the committee had decided to allow paragraph 1,2,3, and 4 of the original preamble to the Constitution to stay as they were. That with respect to paragraph five, they had changed the order of the sentences and with respect to paragraph six they were following the language of an earlier resolution. He tried to discuss the whole problem of the move to delete the term 'interpret' which had already been decided upon by the Convention in its previous action. Again the question arose for discussion and again PAUL ROBESON, JR. indicated that he is in violent disagreement with the idea of having the phrase 'interpret' in any statement having to do with the American Communist Party's position.

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[redacted] from Nassau then spoke. He indicated that the main danger as far as he's concerned may be seen in the last part of the second paragraph of the preamble. Here we see the possibility of preventing a counter revolution. We must recognize that although we want a peaceful role a peaceful transition to Socialism the American capitalist class will never permit this and will foster a counter revolution.

In this respect [ ] was stating the classical position of the Communists with regard to the causes of revolutions which is in response to a counter revolution.

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"BILL PATTERSON then spoke requesting an amendment to the fourth paragraph in which particular emphasis must be placed on the importance of the 14th and 15th amendments which guarantee equal rights to the American Negro. This amendment was accepted in principle. The majority report on the question of preamble and purposes was then accepted by the Convention overwhelmingly. This ruled out any consideration of a minority report which had been prepared.

"TOM DENNIS of Michigan then rose, representing the subcommittee which was charged with the last section of the Constitution Committee, the section concerned with the general aspects of the Constitution and with the rights and duties of members. He proposed that this part of the Constitution which had to do with the method by which new members are brought into the Party with the basis on which charges can be made against members and which even spells out the right of an individual to leave the Party on a resignation basis without prejudice, a new feature in the Constitution appearing for the first time in the history of the American Party. Pointing out all of these proposed changes in the Constitution with relatively short

discussion this general series of amendments to the Constitution were accepted by the body of the Convention.

"It was now 9:00 on Tuesday evening, about three hours after the proposed adjournment time of the Convention. At this time the entire Constitution was proposed and accepted overwhelmingly. A question was raised with regard to the problem of dues structure and it was decided that a revision would be proposed to be effective 1958 on a basis of a National Committee organizational conference to be held in the fall at which time these questions would be worked in detail.

"The last session of the Convention now took place. It opened with greetings which were read from the Chinese Communist Party, in which it was said that under the leadership of EUGENE DENNIS the work of the Communist Party of the United States has proceeded with great difficulty because of the difficult circumstances in which the American Party had to operate. The greeting of the Chinese Communist Party went on to point out that the Communist Party of all countries operate in terms of the universal truth of the scientific socialist propositions, but with the practical conditions of each country being observed and with interpretations being worked out and tactics and strategies being worked out peculiar to each individual country. This particular formulation was met with wide applause by the delegates present.

"Shortly after this report was read from the Chinese delegation, using a parliamentary pretext the delegate previously mentioned his name was [ ] now identified as [ ] of New York, rose once again to the floor to indicate his extreme opposition to the point of view which had been presented as a logical compromise by some of the other delegates which he considered wholly unacceptable. He indicated that as far as he was concerned it was absolutely necessary that the Communist Party change its character, its name and in fact, he inferred, take out some of the leading left sectarian elements from the leadership at this time. He indicated further that a failure to do this would have the immediate effect immediately following the National Convention of causing many of the leading people in the New York State organization of the Communist Party to leave the Party, and that as a result some of the eleven people which were to be elected to the National Convention would not be the same as would otherwise have been elected if the Convention had been willing to make more drastic changes which would have kept in some of the leading people in the New York Party. This position was once again repudiated by JOHN GATES and by GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY; however, the effect that his speech was considerably felt by many of the delegations who had not up until this time, heard any threat of leaving or any threat of

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schism from any of the delegates present.

"In the intervening break between the session just reported and the session which was called to order with the reading of the Chinese greetings the group of 20 people who had been announced earlier in the day had an opportunity to meet, at which time they worked on the question of an interim secretariat. It will be remembered that the Convention had proposed that a secretariat of seven be set up to do the work of the Convention. Instead of this proposal, the group of 20 were elected at large to the National Committee brought in an alternative proposal that, instead, all those members of the group of 20 who were residents of New York be kept on as an "interim committee" to do the work of operating the Party in consultation with those people who were in the group of 20 who were geographically nearby, to operate until March 31st when they could be replaced by working secretaries to be elected from the entire incoming National Committee. This means that at the present time the Communist Party is under the direction of the following group: GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, BEN DAVIS, GENE DENNIS, [REDACTED] JOHN GATES, FRED FINE, BILL FOSTER, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] JIM JACKSON, SID STEIN, and DOXEY WILKERSON. In addition to these, DAVE DAVIS, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and CARL WINTER will be called in for consultation as often as possible in the next six weeks.

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"This report of DENNIS' received the support of BEN DAVIS, who rose to state that now that we have made the decisions of the Convention, it is necessary that we have unity. JOHN GATES also rose to indicate that while there are many different views represented at this Convention, while many have lost, the Party has won. This is a historic program he said with a great impact to be made upon American life. Our old approach is gone forever. We will liberate our minds and free ourselves to do that which will achieve Socialism. Our relationship to other Communist Parties and to countries outside of this country is one of fraternal criticism and equality. This is a program for an American road to Socialism along peaceful, constitutional lines. There is still a good deal of difference between many of the people in the Communist Party but there can be mutual respect for each others point of view and for each others ideas. Our program will enable us to confront the American workers and the nation with a program for progress and for the advancement of the interests of the people.

"The next speaker in behalf of the report of the incoming National Committee was WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, who said briefly, 'This is the best we can do under difficult circumstances. We have seen a new role in the rank and file attitude towards solving the problems of the Party.' The

discussion in the 'Daily Worker,' he said, has been a healthy discussion. This was previously said with tongue and cheek. This Convention has continued the process which was begun in the pages of the 'Daily Worker.' The climax of that process has been the general line of the Convention. FOSTER then went on to say 'I voted for all the major documents which were accepted by the National Convention.' This is the victory for the Party, not for any faction. We did not split at this Convention, he said, let us cherish the unity of the Party.

[redacted] now identified as [redacted] of New York made a proposal from the floor against the proposition which was proposed originally by DENNIS of seating the eleven people as being in charge of the Party on the interim basis. He said that many of the people in the GATES group in the rank and file, are leaving the Party at this time. Therefore FOSTER and DENNIS remain in command of the Party. These are not people in favor of independence of the Party from other ties in foreign countries, these are people in favor of subservience to the interests of the Soviet Union. He went on to indicate that the Soviet Union has been guilty of serious anti-Semitism in the course of its activity.

"HELEN WINTER then rose to speak in favor of the unity of the Party. We should adopt this proposal because it is sincere, she said. The honest elements within the

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committee of 20 have made a proposal which is made in behalf of only 1/3 of the National Committee. Any temporary secretariat will only be able to operate until March 31st. The proposal to consider this question was then taken to a vote and the alternative which was proposed by the group of 20 to the original plan of a secretariat of seven to be replaced by a larger group of eleven was accepted with only one vote against it, [REDACTED].

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"It was then decided that all Trade Union material which had not been acted upon at this time referred to the incoming National Committee for study and for final resolution.

"A greeting was then proposed to [REDACTED] who is in ill health.

"On the question of appeals, JIM JACKSON proposed to refer all the pending appeals which had been discussed and the report of the Committee on Appeals to the incoming National Committee.

"An amendment was made to include the result of the Appeals Report in the record of the Convention. The entire proposal to refer was accepted by the Convention. A short report was then made by the Save Our Press Committee, by [REDACTED]. He indicated that the report of this committee is in favor of maintaining the 'Daily Worker' at the present time. He pointed out that the circulation in the past eight

years had dropped on behalf of the 'Sunday Worker' from 80,000 to 14,500 and in behalf of the 'Daily Worker' from 20,000 to 6,700. We must now have a circulation drive and a fund drive for \$150,000 to keep the 'Sunday Worker' and the 'Daily Worker' in operation.

"A delegate named [redacted] previously mentioned as having served on the Election Committees, spoke in favor of having a daily at this time. When this report was completed and accepted by the Convention the report of the Civil Liberties Committee was entertained. A special resolution with regard to the Smith Act was heard and discussion was heard with regard to the additional three years each which has been cited in terms of the contempt cases of GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON. This entire resolution was referred to the National Committee for their further action.

"A report which had been planned to be made by PHIL BART on the Audit Committee was also referred to the incoming National Committee. It may be stated parenthetically that while PHIL BART had asked specifically for permission to deliver such a report, he was probably one of the members in this far right wing group that was represented by [redacted] and was notably conspicuous by his absence throughout the Convention.

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"A proposal was then read from the Presiding Committee in terms of fraternal greetings which had been drafted, which was reported by [ ] in behalf of the incoming National Committee and replied to the greetings which had been sent from the Communist Party of France, this reply being a reply of the National Convention of the Party to the Communist Party in France, which said in essence the following: We welcome all greetings which have come to this Convention in the spirit in which the French Communist Party sent their greetings to us. We value your sympathy and your interest. We regret and we protest the exclusion of your fraternal representatives, who were invited to visit our delegation. We note that [ ] in his letter to us expressed misgivings as to our course of action. This is an excellent thing that he does and a fine example of the spirit of Socialist criticism which must prevail in the international working class movement, but we are an independent working class body, dedicated to the American working class. Our membership is the final judge of the correctness of our role. Our decisions are based on sound principles of scientific socialism. We are not revisionists. We are trying to build a Party which is free of dogmatism and free of doctrinarism. We are trying to create a new concept on the relationship between our Party and other

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Communist Parties, based on the independence and equality of all Marxist Parties.

"A vote was not taken on this question of whether or not the Convention supported this proposal but instead the letter was referred to the incoming National Committee. It was pointed out that practically all of the phrases which were used to construct this letter were phrases taken from actual decisions reached by the Convention, and that therefore a letter of this kind was nothing more than a series of quotations of the decisions of the Convention.

"Subcommittee number six of the Resolutions Committee then took the floor with [ ] introducing the basic propositions of the committee. He indicated that only one resolution of this subcommittee would be read on the floor and that the entire work of the body of this committee was to be referred to the National Committee, including that resolution which was read. This resolution was read by MORRIS U. SCHAPPES and it was on the Jewish question. It consisted of two parts, the first part of which asked for further information on the problems which have been raised with regard to the possibility of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and the second part much more sharply dealt with the question of liquidation of the Jewish intellectuals in the Soviet Union and called for a return to the Leninist policy of freedom of the cultural

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expression for the Jews of the Soviet Union, a re-establishment of Jewish cultural institutions in the Jewish press and called for an elimination of what were obviously anti-Semitic practices in the Soviet Union at this time. A spirited debate took place as to whether or not this resolution should be even be referred to the National Committee. It was finally decided that it should be referred to the National Committee. A move was then made to extend the session until 10:30 that evening.

"A report was then heard from STEVE NELSON speaking for the Plan of Work Committee. Generally speaking, STEVE NELSON's report, although it was late in the evening and the delegates were anxious to leave, was startling to many of the delegates because of its brevity and because of its lack of direction. He simply got up and with hands in pockets, said, we cannot add too much to what has already been said with regard to the nature of our present tasks. The new thing that faces us is the development of the fight for Negro rights, he said. NELSON went on to say that we do not need, at this time, to invent tasks which face us at the present time. We need only to deepen the struggle for peace, the struggle against high taxes, etc. He referred to the National Committee the development of a full plan of work to be based upon the decisions of the Convention.



This proposal was passed by the Convention.

"Finally in behalf of the Presiding Committee FRED FINE once again took the floor and proposed an adjournment to this National Convention. The Convention was adjourned with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner just as it had begun, with all delegates rising and facing the flag.

"It should be noted that the original Los Angeles delegation which was to have contained [redacted] among others, unfortunately was forced to replace her with the delegate [redacted] because of the fact that [redacted] broke her hip the day before the Convention and was therefore unable to make the trip. In addition to this, another delegate who was originally designated as an alternate at large, was selected by the delegations present to take a position as a full fledged delegate. In addition to this, [redacted] was then elected to replace [redacted] by her division, Los Angeles, because of the inability of [redacted] to attend the Convention. [redacted] was unable to attend the Convention because she had a job which prevented her from being away from the city on Monday and Tuesday of that week.

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"While this observer was not present in the National Committee meeting itself, the reports in regard to this meeting were that the National Committee meeting itself was a disoriented meeting, which was unable to reach decisions on some very

important questions facing the Convention. In the first place, the National Committee meeting had an extremely unfruitful and extended discussion with regard to the question of the nature of the two reports to be made by DENNIS and FOSTER. During the course of this discussion, considerable debate was held with regard to how explicit these reports would be; how long they would be and how much they would cover specific material facing the Convention on which decisions had not been made. It was finally decided to make the reports brief and relatively inconclusive in order to leave the opportunity for the Convention to make up its own mind as far as possible without being influenced by the two basic leaders of the Party, DENNIS and FOSTER. It was also decided evidently to make these reports relatively non-committal in an effort to preserve some element of respect on the part of the rank and file for the positions which were being taken privately by both DENNIS and FOSTER.

"With regard to the question of the incoming National Committee the outgoing National Committee was completely unable to make any specific recommendations as to how large this committee should be or how it should be elected and was actually, when it came down to brass tacks, unable to make any recommendations to the incoming National Committee or to the Election and Leadership Committee which was to determine the

course of this work. Generally speaking as [ ] and [ ] pointed out during the course of the Elections and Leadership Committee meeting, the National Committee was pretty much afraid to tackle the whole problem of leadership in this period in terms of continuation of power of the old group or in terms of the whole question of who should replace the old group in the event that this would be unacceptable to the National Convention. As it turned out, the National Convention was in a much more conciliatory mood than the National Committee had expected and did not in fact, insist in turning any of the old leaders out of office entirely but rather on demoting them to a status of subservience to a broad group representing the various regions.

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"SIMON GERSON as public relations director of the Convention, arranged in advance of the Convention to make a tape recording of the entire proceedings of this Convention and every word which was uttered from the microphone during the entire course of the public debate in the general sessions of the Convention was recorded and as far as possible will be transcribed and made part of the proceedings of the Convention.

"Although numerous requests were made from the rank and file and from several of the delegates for a decision with regard to the next Convention, with specific suggestions

being made that the Convention be held in approximately one year, it was decided that this question of the next Convention would be turned over to the National Committee for further study.

"It should be noted also parenthetically that JOHN ABT, well known attorney for the left wing movement, was seen amongst those observers participating as a visitor at the Convention."

There is being setout hereunder the names of the delegates of the National Convention in New York City who were identified by the observer. They were delegates unless otherwise described. These individuals include those previously mentioned in most instances and contain also additions thereto:

Albany

[REDACTED]

Baltimore

GEORGE MEYERS

Boston

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

MIKE RUSSO

Butte

[REDACTED]

Cleveland

[REDACTED]

HYMAN LUMER

Denver

[REDACTED]

Detroit

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

NAT GANLEY

[REDACTED]

SAUL WELLMAN  
CARL WINTER  
HELEN WINTER  
WILLIAM MC KIE

[REDACTED]

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Chicago

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
FRED FINE  
[REDACTED]  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Indianapolis

EMANUEL BLUM

Los Angeles

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
BEN DOBBS  
JAMES FOREST  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Minnesota

MERRIDEL LE SUEUR  
[REDACTED]

Nebraska

MORRIS CHILDS

Newark

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CHARLES NUSSER

PATRICK TOOHEY  
[REDACTED]

New York

[REDACTED]

BEN DAVIS  
EUGENE DENNIS  
JAMES FORD  
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER  
JOHN GATES  
LILLIAN GATES

[REDACTED]  
JAMES JACKSON  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

WILLIAM PATTERSON  
PAUL ROBESON, JR.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

WILLIAM WEINSTONE

Philadelphia

DAVID DAVIS  
[REDACTED]

THOMAS NABREID

Pittsburgh

[REDACTED]

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(b7C)

San Francisco

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
ARCHIE BROWN  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

LOUISE TODD LAMBERT  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

ROSCOE PROCTOR  
AL RICHMOND  
WILLIAM SCHNEIDEMAN  
[REDACTED]

OLETA YATES  
LIM  
[REDACTED]

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b7C

Washington State

[REDACTED]  
BURT NELSON  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

There was also present the widower of Mother BLOOR,  
whose name was not known.

OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

DATE: 3/29/57

On 3/13/57, NY 1989-S\* furnished photographs of information in the possession of [redacted] at her residence at [redacted] New York City. The original negatives of these photographs are being made Exhibit 1B2(1) in [redacted] NY file 100-100351.

- 2 - Bureau (100-68) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (ENC. 3)
- 1 - ~~Bureau~~ (100-63) (CP, USA - FUNDS)
- 1 - Atlanta (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Baltimore (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Birmingham (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Charlotte (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Dallas (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Houston (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Knoxville (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Little Rock (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Memphis (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Miami (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Mobile (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - New Orleans (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Norfolk (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Oklahoma City (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Richmond (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - San Antonio (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - Savannah (RM) (ENC. 1)
- 1 - New York (100-100351) [redacted] (19)
- 1 - New York (100-80538) (CP, USA - Membership) (19) (att) NZ
- 1 - New York (100-74560) (CP, USA - Funds) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-81675) (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications) (19)
- 1 - New York (100-80641)
- 1 - New York (100-131666) (SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE) (#19)

HPQ:kmi  
(25)

FILE STRIPPED  
BY [redacted] 4/21/57

100-80638-1187

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 1 1957	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Waters  
#19

NY 100-80641

During the above contact the source observed that [ ] was maintaining the full organizational and financial records for the Southern Regional Committee (SRC) of the CP, which records had formerly been maintained by [ ] prior to leaving NY in January, 1957, was the Regional Organizer of the SRC. Source observed that it appeared that [ ] is now functioning in this capacity.

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Among the information furnished by this source were photographs of papers contained in a folder marked "Statistics". This folder was maintained in a file cabinet containing numerous other folders with appropriate markings all connected with the organizational and financial aspects of the CP in the South. The papers furnished contain the first known full statistical account of the organization of the CP in the South. These statistics furnished a detailed account of the history of the CP in the years 1949 through 1956, with the exception of the year 1952. The reason for the absence of the 1952 statistics is probably because that was the year that the CP undertook full scale Underground activity and the Party in the South was without leadership for the purpose of contacting the National Office.

Photostat copies of this information are being made enclosures to the Bureau (3), and to all Southern offices (1 each). There are 6 Photostat pages made up in three attachments of 2 each. Copies are also being made attachments to the pertinent NY files.

Among the figures contained in these papers are the following:

1. Full registration and membership records of the CP in the South, by state, from 1949 to 1956..
2. Figures for circulation for the "Daily Worker" by state in the years 1949, 1951, 1953, 1954 and 1955.



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3. Figures for circulation for "The Worker" by the state in the years 1949, 1951, 1953, 1954 and 1955.

4. Fund drive figures by state for the years 1953, 1954 and 1955.

5. A breakdown of the 1955<sup>and</sup>56 membership records by state, reflecting the sex, nationality (race) age, years in Party, union affiliation and occupation of each CP member.

6. Figures reflecting by state, the number of dues-paying CP members for 1954 and 1955.

It is noted that the statistics for 1957 were not furnished by this source due to the fact that they apparently had not yet been assembled in the various states. Source advised through observation it is believed that the 1957 organization records will be assembled some time in May and that the various districts will furnish them to  some time in April at a proposed meeting of the SRC.

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Regarding the enclosed records, the following observations are set forth:

1. Throughout the membership and registration figures appears the notation "N" next to a member. This indicates the number of Negro CP members out-of the total membership. Such notations are only utilized for the years 1954 through 1956.

2. Under the Texas registration figures appears in the same fashion as "N", the notation "Mex" standing for the number of Mexican CP members..

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3. The heading "MAL" which appears under the list of states stands for the "members at large." These are persons from the South who are residing in NY, and who are active in the SRC. From other information furnished by the source they are apparently organized into a regular CP club holding regular meetings and providing forms of procurement to visiting CP members from the South.

4. The membership figures for the state of Mississippi are presently carried under those of Alabama.

5. The Party has reopened its registration in the state of South Carolina and this state is being again handled on a separate basis.

6. The statistics for 1956 registration figures of the state of Tennessee is unknown with "two trans in" (2 new transfers who are probably Negro.)

7. The Party in the South actually gained in its 1956 registration over 1955. The increase is undoubtedly due to the fact that organizers were able to again re-register members in South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia.

8. The unusually high "years in Party" of CP members in Florida in 1956, which is probably due to the influx of older NYC residents to that area.

9. The Party's check of "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" subscriptions in the South in 1955, found that 50% or more were going to "newspapers, schools, Army information, FBI and known stoolpigeons."

10. Texas registration is broken down into "H" (Houston) and "D - Ft. W" (Dallas - Fort Worth).

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11. Two "members-at-large" in NY are CP functionaries.

All offices receiving copies of this information are requested to review these statistics and if it is felt there are any pertinent observations to furnish them to the NYO under the proper caption.

5/1/55

below  
5/55 5/54

below  
5/55 5/54

	Registration -						WORKER CIRCULATION						DAILY CIRCULATION						Fund Drive			
	53	54	53	51	50	49	53	54	51	50	49	53	53	54	51	49	53	QUOTA TO CENTER	1954	Turned in	1953	
North Carolina	12	56	70	120	168	183	34	5	39	56	245	285	17	57	52	50	37	9,900	2,500	0	400	
	(10N)(10M)			80% change			27		27	24			20	19								
Virginia	22	34	37	50	45	83	27	12	39	62	111	253	9	14	12	23	12	400	500	400	200	
	(5N)(12M)						31	12	43	48			11	11				1,000				
Tennessee	16	14		6			18		18	22	included in Ala. figures		7	7	included in Ala. figures			175	445	175	-	
	(2N)(1M)						19		19	22			11	6				500				
Alabama	*	69	118	60	86	330	14	24	38	35	106	345	10	10	34	30	17	400	600	0	210	
	(5M)						7		7	34			7	8				1,000				
Louisiana	*	57	72	120	101	143	5	48	53	54	128	298	6	6	8	24	5	400	200	40	200	
	(4M)						4	33	37	53			3	8				1,200				
Florida	48	71	81	120	141	189	17	80	97	132	244	545	11	15	38	109	12	4,500			(4,500)	
	(2N)(3M)						19	57	76	94			16	14				6,500	2,000	4,500	700	
Texas	37	45	73	95	132	261	39	10	49	106	155	1052	25	20	30	58	19	1,000		966	300	
	(10N)(11M)						34	10	44	71			22	21				3,000				
	(Voted 6M)																					
Georgia	0	1	4	2	6	64	10	2	12	13	22	281	9	12	10	21	11					
	(1M)						8	2	10	12			9	10								
South Carolina	0	0	2				included in North Carolina figures						3	included in N. Caro. figures								
Mississippi	0	0	0	1			9	9	included in Alabama figures				0	included in Ala. figures								
ARK.	13						6	6					0					QUOTA FOR CENTER	7,775			
Total	150	547	557	544	620	1268	179	181	360	480	951	3039	97	121	114	315	108	16,300	6,345	6,081	2,010	
	(10N)(11M)												99	97								
	(Voted 6M)																					
	170																					
	* non-report or incomplete report																					

\* REPORT of incomplete  
COUNT

	Registration						WORKER CIRCULATION					
	55	56	57	58	59	60	5/1955	6/55	7/55	8/55	9/55	10/55
North Carolina	35	56	70	120	168	183	27	27	39	24	56	73
Virginia	22	34	39	50	45	83	31	12	43	39	48	62
Tennessee	16	14		6			19	19	18	22	22	
Alabama	69	118		60	86	330	7	7	38	34	35	67
Louisiana	57	72		120	101	143	4	33	37	53	53	54
Florida	48	71	81	120	141	189	19	59	76	97	94	132
Texas	39	45	73	95	132	26	34	10	44	49	71	106
Georgia	0	1	4	2	6	84	8	2	10	12	13	11
South Carolina	0	0	2		17-15		included in North Carolina figures					
Mississippi	0	0	0	1			9 included in Alabama figures					
MAL	13						6					
Totals	170	347	467	544	691	1767	263	360	358	400	424	3039
Totals taken at the beginning of any year tend to be higher than the middle of the year since subscriptions expire - the title goes up again towards the end of the year.												

DAILY CIRCULATION						Fund Drive 1955		Fund Drive 1954			1953
1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	Quota to Region	Turned in	TOTAL Quota	AMT. KEPT IN DISTRICT	AMT. TURNED IN TO REGION	
17	19	31	37	52	50			\$2,700	900	2,500	400
9	11	14	12	12	23	750	750	1,200	400	500	200
11	7	6	7	included in Alabama figures				500	175	445	175
10	8	10	17	34	30	400	95	1,200	400	600	210
3	6	8	6	5	8	400		1,200	400	300	200
16	11	14	15	12	38	2250	1954	6,500	4,500	2,000	700
22	25	21	20	19	30	750	700	3,000	1,000	966	300
9	9	10	12	11	10						
3 included in N. Carolina											
included in Alabama figures											
MAL											
99	97	97	121	108	184			\$16,300	\$7,775	\$6,345	\$2,010
turned into with center \$											
A. DETAILS EVEN WITH MORE											
DISTRICTS SHOW THAT 50% OR MORE OF THE WORKER AND DAILY SDO'S ARE NEWSPAPERS, SCHOOLS, ARMY											
INFORMATION, FBI, AND ARMY											
STOOD PIGEON IN '55 AND '54											

SITES

	SEX			NATL	AGE						YRS. IN PARTY					UNION			OCCUPATION					
	Reg.	M	F	N	W	75	80	85	90	95	100	105	110	115	120	125	130	135	140	145	150	155	160	165
NORTH CAROLINA *	35	8	4	1	1	3	2	3	3	1	1	3	7	1		5	4		5	1	2			
VIRGINIA	22	14	7	5	1	1	3	9	4	4	1	2	2	7	5	4	1	4		4	5	6		
TEHNESEE <sup>incomp</sup> <sub>breakdown</sub> *	16	5	3	2		2	2	4			1	3	1	3		1			1	1	2			
ALABAMA																								
LOUISIANA																								
FLORIDA *	48	32	16	3	45	1	3	6	7	17	10		13	5	26	8	1	10	3	5	6	2		
TEXAS	37	23	14	10	17	1	9	15	4	5	3	2	8	4	9	7	7	1	4	5	14	6		
AL	13	6	7	3	10	1	3	6	2	1	1		4	1	7	1			1	7	1	2	P. Fu	

\* - incomplete or no Registration

	ISS Reg.	SEX M F	N W	AGE 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
North Carolina	* 35	8 4	14 21	3 2 3 3 1
Virginia	22	14 7	5 19	1 3 9 4 4
Tennessee	* 16	5 3	2 14	2 2 4
Alabama	0			
Louisiana	0			
Florida	* 48	32 16	3 45	1 3 6 7 17 16
Texas	0 37	23 14	10 17	1 9 15 4 5 3
MAL	13	6 7	3 10	1 3 6 2 1
* - incomplete breakdown in composition 0 - incomplete or no registration report				

5/1/85										UNION	OCCUPATION	UNEMPLOYED
Y	M	P	A	R	T	Y	M	P	A	R	T	Y
1	3	7	1			5					4	5 1 2
1	2	2	7	5	4	1	4				4	5 6
1	3	1	3			1					1	1 2
10												
10						13	5	26		8	1	10 3 5 6 2
3						2	8	4	9	7	7	1 4 5 14 6
1						4	1	7		1		1 7 1 2 Party



# 1956 Registrations

	1956		SEX	NAT'L	AGE												YRS IN PARTY	UNION	OCCUPATION				
	55	56			15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70			REG.	DR.	IND.	AG.	PRO.
	Rq.	Rq.	M	F	W	H																	
N.C.	35	30	17	13	26	4																	
S.C.		5	4	1	5																		
Va.	22	<del>25</del>	<del>16</del>	<del>5</del>	<del>6</del>	<del>8</del>																	
		25	16	9	18	7																	
Tn.	16	11?				2?																	
Al.		15	9	6	8	7																	
La.		2																					
		28	15	13	14	14																	
Fl.	48	38	22	16	35	3																	
		7	3	7	7	7																	
Tx. (16-H 19-D-HW)	37	35	22	17	<del>26</del>	<del>9</del>																	
					26	9																	
Ga.		3	1	2	3																		
MAL.	13	<del>8</del>	<del>4</del>	<del>4</del>	<del>4</del>	<del>4</del>																	
		12	4	4	7	4																	
	171	207	114	89																			
	36H	50H																					

Fl - 15 30 +  
 Th - 9? 12 14  
 Pl - 4 12



